

THE MAKING *of The* AMERICAN NATION

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REDWAY

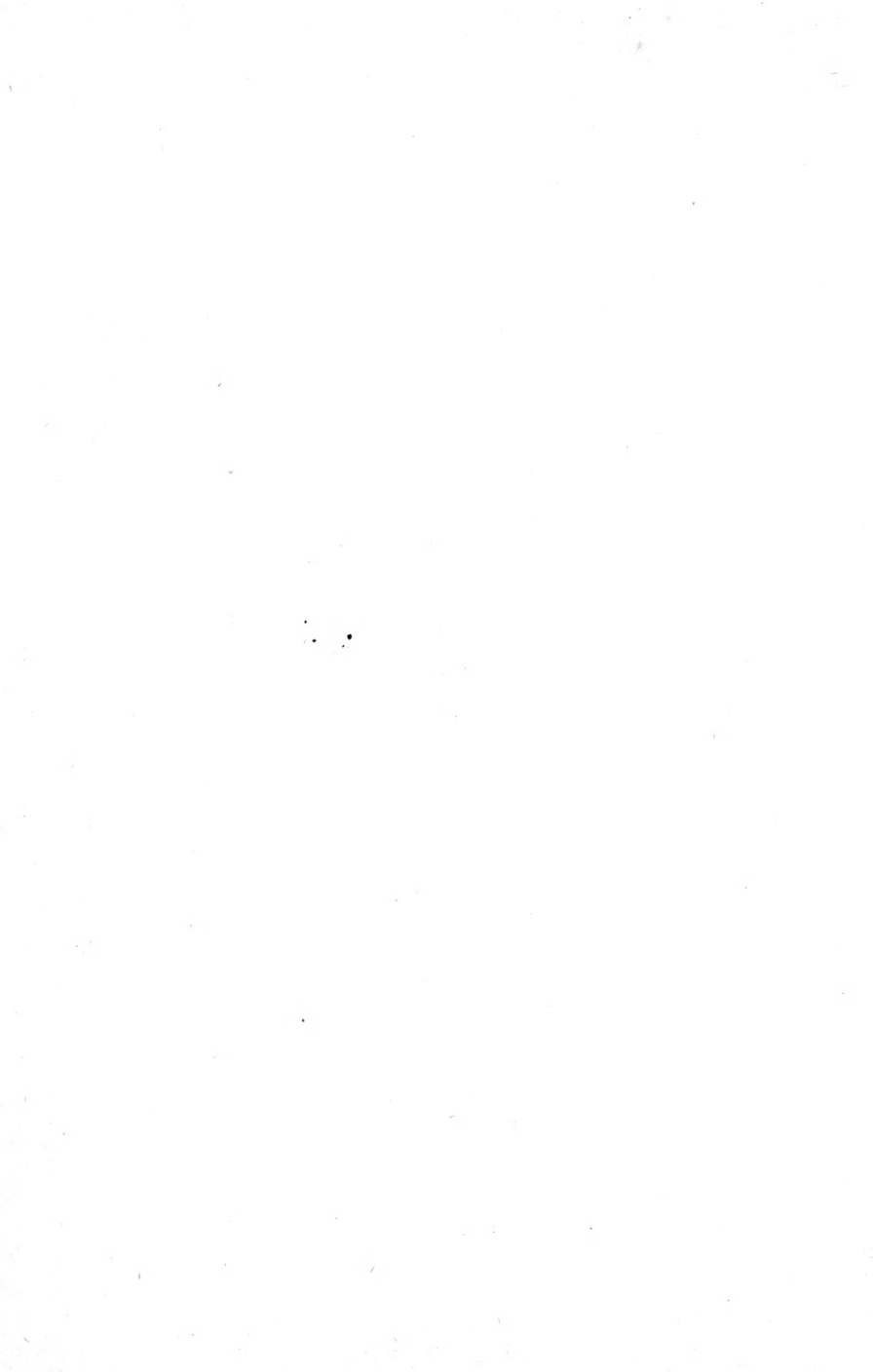
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THE MAKING
OF
THE AMERICAN NATION

A HISTORY FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

BY
JACQUES WARDLAW REDWAY, F.R.G.S.

WITH MANY MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



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TO THE AMERICAN BOYS AND GIRLS

THERE is no better guide by which the future of our country may be discerned than an intelligent study of the past. In a score of years hence the affairs of the nation will be controlled by the young men and women who are now preparing to close the period of school life. To be a good and efficient citizen, it is not enough merely to know the political history of the past ; one must be a part of the political affairs of to-day. In other words, every good citizen, whether man or woman, boy or girl, must be an active politician, earnestly engaged in politics —not the sort of political life that bears the odor of graft and corruption, but the healthful political activity that develops the highest and the best in citizenship. Remember that your political life must stand the test when examined by the searchlight of virtue and the rule of everlasting righteousness.

A FOREWORD OR TWO

THE influence of climate and topography as dominant factors in shaping the destiny of mankind is no longer a question having two sides; on the contrary, political history may be broadly summed up as a quantitative expression of temperature, rainfall, and surface features. When the man has been wise enough to adapt himself easily to the conditions of his environment, there has been but little friction in his political history as a rule; on the other hand, if the attempts to adapt himself to his environment have been attended with a great deal of difficulty, either there has been much friction in his history or else he has drifted to a materially lower plane of civilization.

Nowhere are these fundamental principles of history better illustrated than in the industrial development of the American nation. The wonderful development of commerce in New England when the harbor facilities were discovered and utilized; the transference of food production to the prairies of the Mississippi Valley; the wresting of the cotton industry from India and its relocation in the Southern states; the localization of steel-making at a position where cheap fuel and a low rate of transportation have made it a world-commanding economy — these, and not the eloquence of statesmen in legislative halls, have made the political fabric of the nation what it is to-day. Political revolution is almost always the chief result of commercial evolution. Two wars with Great Britain gave to the Republic the only independence that is real — namely, commercial independence; the Civil War broke the bonds that for years had prevented commercial expansion. These great struggles, it is

hardly necessary to add, were the tremendous efforts whereby the man adapted himself to his geographic environment and the conditions which it imposed.

A text-book adapted to the needs of to-day requires a discussion of certain principles that have come to be a part of modern life. In discussing these — especially in Chapter XX — the teacher should consider the maturity of the pupil's mind. With young pupils it will be wise to postpone, or even to omit, such topics as cannot be comprehended. In such cases it is not a question of capability but of age. In the lists of collateral reading the books mentioned are those most likely to be found in available libraries; others covering the subjects may be used instead. A comprehensive list of good books for further reading is given in the Appendix.

In the preparation of this book, I am greatly indebted to Mr. Charles A. Shaver, former Supervisor of Institutes of New York, for valuable assistance, especially in the plans of the Revolutionary and the Civil wars and for various maps relating to the same. I also desire to acknowledge the kindness of Professor Cyrus W. Hodgin of the Department of History of Earlham College, Indiana, for a critical reading of the text.

J. W. R.

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THE MAKING OF THE AMERICAN NATION

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS



A NATIVE'S HOME.

Chinese and Japanese Legends.—

When we speak of the New World, almost always the mind reverts to the voyage of Columbus and that eventful day in October when the banner of Spain was unfurled on the island which the great explorer named San Salvador. But there are accounts of voyagers who may have found this same new land five hundred and possibly one thousand years before the discoveries of the great explorer.

Certain legends common to the knowledge of both the Chinese and the Japanese relate the deeds of one Hwui Shan,¹ a Buddhist missionary, who found, many miles to the eastward of China, a land which he called Fusang.² About the year 499 he, with five brother priests, went along the coast of China to Kamchatka, and thence by way of the Aleutian Islands to Alaska. Hwui Shan's description of the people he found applies very correctly to the Aleuts and the Eskimos living in this region to-day. From Alaska, which they called

The Chinese
find America

¹ For the pronunciation of difficult names, see the Appendix, page 46.

² This story only recently came into the literature of western peoples. A few years ago the Chinese government directed one of its best scholars to search the records of the imperial historian, and from these records came the story as here given. The details are vague, and scholars are divided between assigning the description to Japan or the American coast.

Great Han, the missionary party proceeded along the coast to Fusang. Hwui Shan describes the houses of Fusang as made of sun-dried bricks of mud, and containing many people—a description which fits the pueblos of ancient America. He mentions a plant which was used in making both cordage and paper, which afforded a vegetable milk, and which yielded tender sprouts that were used for food. Now there is but one plant which answers to this description, and that is the maguey.¹ He also describes a plant and its fruit which must have been the cactus, or prickly pear. Fusang, according to these accounts, was very much like Mexico.

Whatever credit we may give to the story, one fact cannot be overlooked. Steady winds blow from China and Japan toward the Pacific coast of North America, dragging with them the surface drift of the Japan Current. More-over, the Chinese of the coast and the Japanese are born sailors, and their junks, numbering tens of thousands, went everywhere. From the very nature of the conditions, one or more of these junks must accidentally have been blown across the ocean. Certain it is, too, that Asiatic peoples must have crossed Bering Strait, or traversed the chain of the Aleutian Islands. But the records and proofs concerning such voyages are unsatisfactory, and the evidence of them is circumstantial.

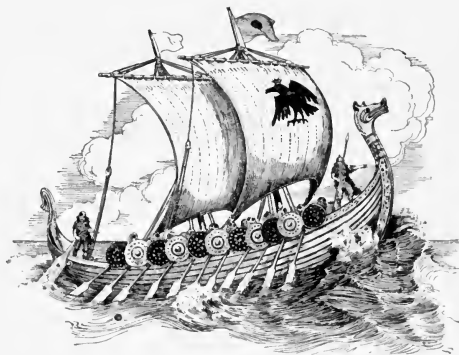
Norse Discoveries.—In the accounts of discoveries by adventurous mariners of northern Europe, however, we are dealing with historic facts about which there is no doubt; and although the settlements made by the Northmen have no connection with the history of modern America, we should at least notice the leading facts.

Shortly after the settlement of Iceland (probably 875) a master mariner named Gunnbjorn lost his reckoning at sea and was carried to the unknown Greenland coast, where he was forced to spend the winter locked in an ice pack. This land was again visited, about 983, by a Norse sea rover named Eric the Red. He made a settlement there, and in time several hundred people came out from Iceland. For more than

¹ Pronounced mä'-gwä.

four centuries Greenland was a commercial center. Late in the fourteenth century the Danish government made this great sea commerce a crown monopoly and forbade her colonies, Greenland and Iceland, either to engage in it, or even to own the vessels in which the goods were carried. As a result, the trade dropped off and, little by little, the Greenland colony passed out of existence.

A short time after the settlement of Greenland an adventurous young fellow named Herjulf, who was on his way to Greenland from Iceland, sailed into foggy weather, and after several days came in sight of a low, heavily timbered coast, apparently free from ice and snow. Finding his position, he turned his vessel north-eastward to his home in Greenland. One of the hearers of Herjulf's story was Leif Ericson, a son of Eric the Red. His curiosity was excited, and he resolved to learn for himself about the strange coast that Herjulf described. So in the year 1000 he left his home with a crew of thirty-five men.



THE NORTHMEN ON THE SEAS.

Their first landing was made somewhere along the coast of Labrador or Newfoundland. The surface was so thickly covered with rock that they called it Helluland, meaning "Slateland." It was not an attractive country, and so they turned the vessel southward along the coast. After several days they reached a timbered coast, probably that of Nova Scotia, which they named Markland. Thence they sailed southward for two days, casting anchor in a pleasant place where Ericson and his crew resolved to spend the fall and winter.

In the following spring Leif Ericson returned to Greenland, his vessel laden with timber. The trade in lumber proved so successful that his brothers, one after another, fitted out vessels

to engage in the business, which was regularly carried on until the year 1011. Then a quarrel ended in the massacre of half the people of the settlement, and the survivors returned to Greenland. And so ended the settlement at Vinland, as it was called, the first definitely known to have been established by Europeans in America.¹ No evidence exists to show that the Norse rovers intended to colonize the coast. Their settlement was a lumber camp, founded for commerce and for no other purpose.

The visit of the Ericson brothers should not be considered as the finding of a new continent. It was an incident and a noteworthy one; but it is wholly apart from the voyages and explorations that, one after another, resulted in the discovery of a then unknown continent.

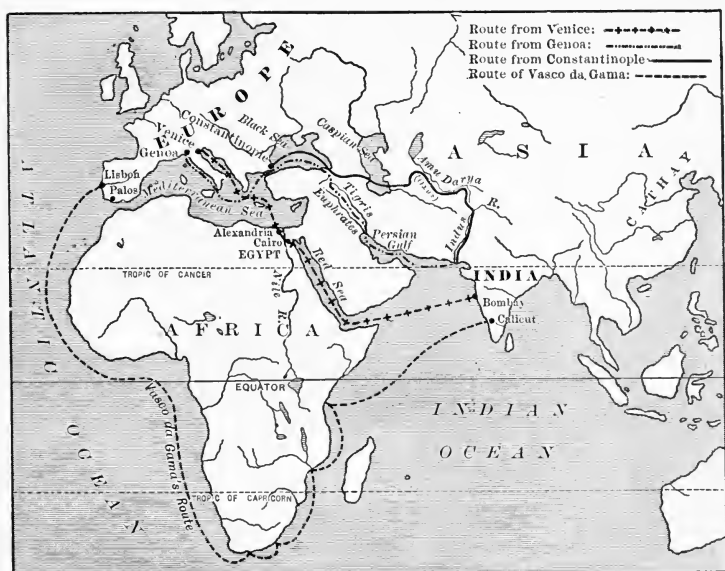
Trade Routes between Europe and India. — The blockading of trade routes between Europe and India, more than five hundred years ago, would seem to have little connection with the first settlement of the United States of America, but the two occurrences are links in the same chain of events. During the wars of the Crusades the people of western Europe for the first time began to have open trade not only with one another, but also with India and China. Only in those two countries could then be procured the silks, muslins, spices, pearls, gems, and ivory — commodities that were wanted by the wealthy people of Europe. A splendid trade resulted in the course of time, and most of this trade concentrated at the ports of Venice and Genoa.

Now, although we commonly consider Europe and Asia as a single great body of land, as a matter of fact an almost impassable barrier separates them. This barrier is the desert highland that rises abruptly in front of the Persian Gulf and culminates in the Hindu Kush plateau. In only two or three places can this

¹Just where the Vinland camp was pitched is not known. Two circumstances afford a slight clew. From casual statements made by Leif Ericson it has been inferred that the shortest day of winter was about nine hours long. Moreover, they found an abundance of wild grapes, probably the common fox grape, and this gave the camp its name. From these statements it is reasonable to believe that Vinland was somewhere between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts Bay — more likely nearer the latter than the former.

lofty highland be crossed; in two or three others it can be avoided. The chief routes of travel and trade were:—

- (1) From Venice to Alexandria, through the Red Sea, to the coast of India.
- (2) From Genoa to Constantinople, by way of the Black Sea, the Tigris and Euphrates, to the Persian Gulf, and the coast of India.
- (3) From Constantinople and the Black Sea, across to the Caspian Sea, up the Amu Darya (or Oxus), to the Indus.

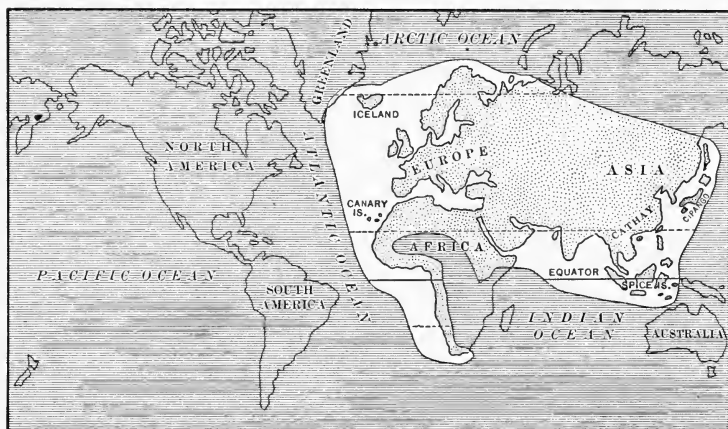


TRADE ROUTES TO THE EAST.

The Turks blockade the Trade Routes.—Half-savage Turkomans in their zeal for the religion taught them by followers of Mohammed began to interfere with this trade of the Christian European nations. In 1453 they captured Constantinople, and a few years later they barred every other gateway to the East. Commerce must always move along lines in which there are no great obstacles. In the face of high mountain ranges across which there are no passes, or over wide deserts, the transit of

goods at that time was next to impossible. Even though it might be possible to transport the goods, the cost would be so great as to be prohibitive. This blockading of the trade routes caused general concern, for people were beginning to realize the importance of commerce and trade routes.

The Search for a Route around Africa.—Energies were directed toward the search for a route around Africa which the Turks could not blockade. In this search Portugal took the



THE WORLD AS KNOWN IN THE TIME OF COLUMBUS.

lead — mainly from the fact that Prince Henry of Portugal, best known as “the Navigator,” had established a school for training master mariners, and this institution had drawn to itself many of the best sailors of the Mediterranean.¹

Long before the voyage of Columbus the Portuguese sailors were actively at work. Many geographers believed that Vasco da Gama Africa was a peninsula, and therefore there must be a

¹ Pope Eugenius IV had conferred (about 1442) upon Portugal “all heathen lands from Cape Bojador [on the west coast of Africa, about latitude 28° North] eastward even to the Indies.” Spain therefore must look westward for her route to India, and her sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, were consequently interested in the proposals of Christopher Columbus for an expedition across the Atlantic to India.

way around its southern point. Under the direction of Prince Henry, the Portuguese vessels, one after another, got farther and farther along the west coast until, in 1487, Bartholomew Dias passed the cape now called Cape of Good Hope.¹ Ten years later (1497) Vasco da Gama rounded the cape in a furious cyclone that carried him in a northeasterly direction, almost to the west coast of India. When he let go his anchors, his vessel was at the city of Calicut, India. And thus one part of the problem of reaching India was solved.

The Search for a Westward Route: Columbus. — Before Vasco da Gama had reached India, a new factor was introduced into the problem. This factor was a man of both power and perseverance. His name was Christopher Columbus. Columbus was a native of the state of Genoa, and possibly of the city of that name; he was born within a few years of 1434. He had begun a sea-faring life when in his teens, and at the age of fifty was well known as a master mariner and a maker of charts and globes.²



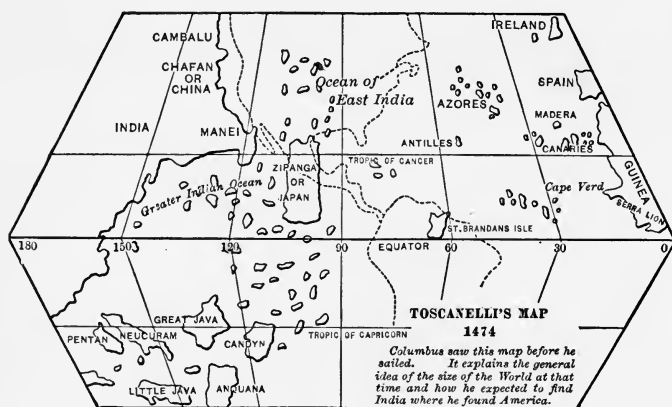
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Some years before the voyage of Da Gama, Columbus had made up his mind that India might be reached by a westward route across the Atlantic instead of eastward, around Africa. In reaching this conclusion he had been guided by a number of traditions

¹ His vessel was so badly shattered by a cyclone that he put back to Portugal in sore distress. He called the headland Cape Tormentoso, meaning "Cape of the Furies." After Da Gama's voyage, however, King John of Portugal gave it its present name.

² Contrary to common opinion, the rotundity of the earth was generally accepted at that time by merchants, sailors, and people engaged in commercial pursuits. Columbus thought the circumference to be 20,400 miles, and this appears to have been his greatest error. Many years before, Eratosthenes had computed it at 25,200 nautical miles; but apparently Columbus did not know this.

about land to the west in the untraveled ocean.¹ There was evidence which none could gainsay. Tropical vegetation, borne by winds and ocean currents, had been cast on European shores, and so also had the drowned bodies of people of a swarthy-colored race. Perhaps the matter which more than any other influenced him was a letter and a map that had been sent by Toscanelli, the



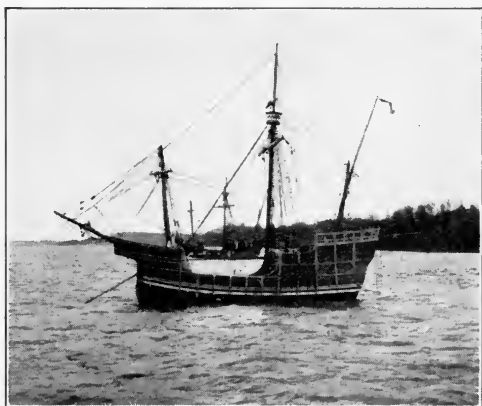
astronomer of Florence in Italy, to an officer in the household of the king of Portugal. Toscanelli believed that India could be reached by sailing west across the Atlantic. He afterward sent a copy of the map and the letter to Columbus, and this seems greatly to have strengthened the explorer's determination. The plans of Columbus were well laid, and his ideas were very clear. It was about eighteen years, however, before he was able to carry them out.

Although both Genoa and Venice had everything to gain and nothing to lose in the discovery of a new route to India, neither

¹ Among the master mariners there was a story about a certain Jean Cousin whose vessel had been blown from the African coast clear across the ocean to an unknown land, which was probably Brazil. This actually happened to Cabral in 1500. Another story referred to Alonzo Sanchez, a Spanish pilot, who was in similar fashion cast ashore on the island now called Haiti. This story was common at the time and was known to Columbus. Indeed, the air was full of that sort of talk, and had been since the blockade of the old trade routes.

state seems to have taken any interest in the matter. Portugal alone was active; Columbus therefore turned to that state. He made a favorable impression on King John, and, had Prince Henry the Navigator been living, it is probable that the plans of Columbus would have been accepted by the Portuguese king. Unfortunately for Portugal, the matter was referred by the king to certain learned men of the state, and by them condemned. The king then fitted out a vessel secretly and dispatched it along the route suggested by Columbus. The master of the vessel, however, lacking the courage to attempt such an uncertain voyage, put back to Lisbon, and thus the secret was out. In disgust, Columbus shook the dust of Portugal from his feet and departed for Spain.

Columbus
in Portugal



THE SANTA MARIA.¹

In 1486 he submitted his plans to a group of Spanish scholars, and the latter practically derided them. Fortunately there were several priests among them who were inclined to give the plans of Columbus a fair trial, and their influence finally prevailed. Perhaps the fact that all the idle gossip about India made it a country of fabulous wealth had something to do with the favorable decision of the king, for he was sorely pressed for funds. At all events it was Queen Isabella who came to the front at the last moment and pledged her jewels for the amount necessary to fit out the expedition. A flagship and two caravels were purchased for the expedi-

Columbus
in Spain

¹ This picture is from a photograph of the caravels built for the Columbian Exposition in 1893, exactly reproducing the ships of Columbus.

tion; they were the *Santa Maria* (or *Capitana*), the flagship, the *Pinta*, and the *Niña*. The largest of the three was about ninety feet in length over all.

The First Voyage of Columbus. 1492. — The squadron set sail from Palos, a small seaport of Spain, August 3, 1492. The vessels put in at the Canary Islands to repair the rudder of the *Pinta*; this done, they turned southwestward headed, as Columbus thought, for Zipango, or Japan. As the days and weeks passed, the crew, a motley lot of roustabouts, showed signs of mutiny, and laid plans to throw Columbus overboard. Then their fears were calmed by occasional signs of land, and so the squadron kept on. Columbus had understated his daily runs intentionally, so that by October 7 the real distance of twenty-seven hundred miles was made to appear five hundred miles less.

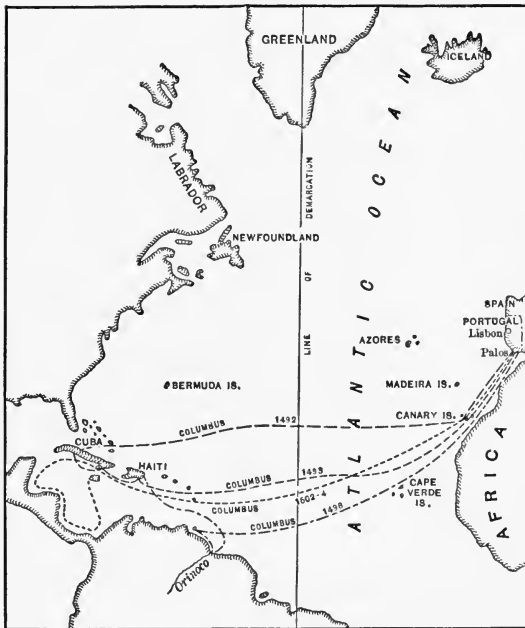
In a few days, however, the signs of land were unmistakable, and on the 12th of October, 1492 (October 21, present style of reckoning), seventy days after their starting, land was sighted. That same morning Columbus went ashore on one of the islands now known as the West Indies and took possession of the land in the name of Spain. He named the island *San Salvador*; the natives, of whom he found a great number, called it *Guahanani*.¹ Columbus spent a few days among the islands, feeling certain that he was near the coast of Asia. The natives he called Indians, because he supposed he was in the East Indian archipelago. He found many of them wearing gold ornaments, and he learned from them that the precious metal came from a large island to the southwest. He visited this island, now known to be Cuba, thinking it might be Japan; and then he went to Haiti, which he named *Espagnola*, or *Little Spain*.

On Christmas the *Santa Maria* was wrecked on a shoal off the coast of Haiti. From the timbers of this vessel Columbus built a fort, and left in it a small garrison. With the rest of his men he returned to Spain. Fort Nativity, as it was called, was the

¹ It is not with certainty known on which island of the Bahama group the first landing was made; various historians have favored Cat Island, Turks, and Watling, but the strongest evidence is in favor of Samana, or Atwood Key, a small island northeast of Acklin and Crooked islands.

first European colony established in the New World, after the lumber camp of Leif Ericson, nearly five hundred years earlier.

Other Voyages of Columbus: South America Discovered. — Columbus made three more voyages, in which he discovered other islands of the West Indies. On his third voyage he entered the mouth of the Orinoco River (1498). The great volume of the stream,



THE LINE OF DEMARCATION, AND THE ROUTES OF COLUMBUS'S VOYAGES.

greater than that of any European river, convinced him that it could drain nothing less than a continent; and so the discovery of South America justly belongs to him. On his fourth voyage (1502–1504) he coasted the shore of that part of North America now called Central America.

The gold, gems, and spices which the Spanish monarch had hoped for were not found. Enemies rose up to plot against the great discoverer, and he died forsaken and in poverty. His

remains, first buried at Valladolid in Spain, were several times removed, and to this day no one knows their final resting place.¹ Columbus died ignorant of the fact that the land he had found was not India.

The Outcome of the Discoveries. — The voyages of Columbus and Da Gama are turning points in the history of America and of Europe. In time it was learned that, instead of a new route to an old land, a new world was discovered. Still it was nearly twoscore years after the first voyage of Columbus before Europe seemed to realize the fact that an unknown continent, and not the eastern shores of India and China, had been found.

In order to keep peace between Spain and Portugal, Pope Alexander VI (1494) issued a decree which gave to Spain all lands west, and to Portugal all lands east, of the meridian
The line of demarcation that lay three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde. Possibly this measure, which established the "line of demarcation," kept a nominal peace between the two countries, but it left open the gates to hordes of adventurers from all parts of maritime Europe; and for more than a century afterward the history of the New World was the history of plunder, rapine, warfare, and massacre.

The Cabots discover the Coast of North America. 1497-1498. — The half century beginning with the year 1475 was a period of active research and exploration. In addition to Da Gama's discovery of the cape route to India and the voyages of Columbus to the new land in the west, several other expeditions of discovery were undertaken which greatly influenced the course of history.

The merchants and trading companies of England were determined to look ahead for the possibilities of enlarging their field of commerce. In 1497 John Cabot, and probably his son Sebastian, undertook to find a shorter route to India by the northwest. Cabot did not find a northwest passage to India, but he did land upon the shores of Labrador or Newfoundland, which he claimed

¹ The sarcophagus long in the cathedral at Havana, Cuba, and removed to Spain about the close of the nineteenth century, may have contained the remains of his son, but it seems certain that they were not those of Columbus.

for England. He was, so far as history records, the first European after Leif Ericson to see North America. On his return an expedition of five ships was quickly fitted out for further exploration. The squadron of vessels failed to force a passage through the ice-bound straits of the northwest, and so Cabot turned southward and explored the coast possibly as far as Cape Hatteras (1498). Upon this discovery of the Cabots England in after years based her claim to North America. In an account book of Henry VII, known as the "Privy Purse," there occurs this entry:—

10th August 1497. To him that found the New Isle £10.

Voyages of Vespucci. 1499–1503.—In 1499 Amerigo Vespucci, a master mariner of Florence in the service of Portugal, became an active factor in exploration. On his first voyage he followed the coast of Venezuela and Guiana, and possibly he may have continued along the northeast coast of Brazil. His subsequent expeditions were the result of an interesting circumstance.

It seems that Cabral, also in the service of Portugal, who was following the African coast, got into foul weather and was carried westward across the Atlantic to the east coast of Brazil. He was somewhat surprised at the sight of land lying so far to the east; he knew that it must be east of the "demarcation line" and that it therefore must belong to Portugal by his discovery. Cabral dispatched a ship to the king to inform him of the fact,



THE CABOT MEMORIAL TOWER AT
BRISTOL, ENGLAND.

and Vespucci was sent to explore the region. His three ships seem to have followed about eighteen hundred miles of coast, and



AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

Vespucci himself entered the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, or Plata River. The discoveries of Cabral and Vespucci secured Brazil to Portugal.

The report of Vespucci's work greatly interested Europe. Vespucci was not only a good explorer but an excellent chronicler as

**The naming
of America**

well, and his accounts of his explorations were widely read. There had been traditions for more than twenty centuries that the world "contained four parts." Three of these, Europe, Asia, and Africa, were known; the great

new continent to the southwest was looked upon as the "fourth part."¹ Waldseemüller, a German geographer, proposed calling the "fourth part" America, in honor of Amerigo Vespucci. This name was in time applied to the whole northern and southern continent.

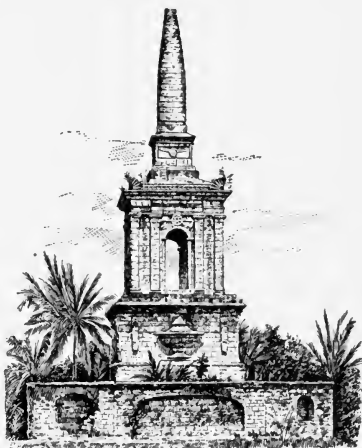
Completing the Discovery of America. — The growing belief that the new land was not a part of Asia was intensified when, in 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, in the service of Spain, crossed the Isthmus of Panama and discovered the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea, as he named it. The belief was confirmed by the most remarkable voyage ever made up to that time.

Ferdinand Magellan, as the name is called in English, a Portuguese master mariner in the service of Spain, conceived the idea of reaching the Molucca Islands, lying to the southeast of Asia,

¹ Herodotus expresses the opinion, "All men say that the earth contains three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya (Africa), now certainly they should add a fourth part, the Delta land of Egypt." The geography of Mela also taught that there were four parts, though Ptolemy's geography claimed only three.

by a westward passage. In order to avoid the Portuguese and the English lands, he determined upon a southerly course. In 1519 he cleared from the coast of Spain with five ships and two hundred and eighty men. Following the east coast of South America, they reached a break in the coast which proved to be the strait now bearing the commander's name.

It required five weeks to work the ships through the strait. About this time one ship was wrecked and one deserted. During their long voyage across the Pacific, the crew of the three remaining vessels suffered most horribly from starvation. They stopped at one of the islands now called the Ladrões and at the Philippines, where Magellan was killed in a fight with the natives. Thence the squadron proceeded to the Moluccas, where one ship was burned and another condemned as unseaworthy. After three years of hardship and suffering, one ship, with eighteen starved and scurvy-stricken men, sailed into the Guadalquivir River of Spain. The surviving ship of the squadron had sailed around the world.¹



THE TOMB OF MAGELLAN, ON THE SPOT WHERE HE FELL.

Even after Magellan's voyage, it was more than half a century before the fact that America was a continent was fully realized. Other work of discovery and exploration was necessary. First among these explorations was the voyage of Sir Francis Drake (1577-1580). Drake passed through the Strait of Magellan and skirted the west coast of the continent to a point a little way north of San Francisco Bay. He returned to England by way

¹ The captain of the surviving ship secured a royal coat of arms bearing a globe upon which was inscribed the legend, "*Primus circumdedisti me* (thou first circumscribedst me)."

of the Molucca Islands. Martin Frobisher (1576-1578), John Davis (1585-1587), Henry Hudson (1607-1609), and William Baffin (1615) visited the coast along the northeast in search of a route to Asia. It was more than two centuries after Magellan's voyage (1728) that the strait which separates America from Asia was discovered by Veit Bering.

The Spaniards in North America.—Many daring men, in the service of Spain, explored the coasts and inland region of North America.

Vicente Pinzon and Juan Solis (1498) explored the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts.

Ponce de Leon, governor of Porto Rico (1513), discovered Florida while seeking the fountain of perpetual youth.

Alvarez de Pineda (1519) explored the Gulf Coast and entered the river de Santo Espiritu—probably Mobile Bay and River, possibly the Mississippi or Appalachicola. He reported much gold in the hands of the natives.

Hernando Cortez (1519) entered upon the conquest of Mexico.

Panfilo de Narvaez (1528) explored the region about the Gulf of Mexico. De Vaca continued the exploration to the Gulf of California.

Fray Marcos (1539) searched the region about New Mexico for the Seven Cities of Cibola, in the country of the Zuñi Indians.

Francisco Coronado (1540-1542) explored regions about the Rio Grande and the Colorado River.

Hernando de Soto (1539-1541) explored the region embracing the South Atlantic states as far west as the Mississippi River.

From the foregoing summary it is readily seen that the Spaniards were very active in exploring the New World. Few of the explorations seem to have been looking toward the establishment of colonies; practically all were made for the purpose of trade or else in search of gold. The conquest of Mexico by Cortez and the settlement of Cuba probably incited most of the other expeditions, and these were confined mainly to the region about the Gulf of Mexico.

Pineda's accounts of the gold held by the Indians were plausible because Cortez had actually obtained much gold treasure from Montezuma, the Aztec king in Mexico. In turn, Narvaez

was led by the stories of Pineda to undertake the expedition that led to his death, by drowning, at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Some of his survivors, however, crossed the continent under the lead of Cabeza de Vaca.

These men brought back the report that far inland were seven great cities. The story, as it was told, had all the glamour of marvelous tales of the Arabian Nights, and the Spanish governor of Mexico sent Brother Mark (Fray Marcos), ^{The Seven Cities} a Franciscan friar, in search of the cities. Brother Mark was a man of great ability, and was therefore expected to accomplish by tact what his military predecessors had thought to win by force of arms. He found not seven great cities, but a number of Indian settlements, pueblos of the Zuñi tribe. In spite of this disillusion, in the following year (1540) Coronado, with a force of more than one thousand men, proceeded against the seven cities. He apparently thought that the pueblos were not worth having, and so continued his march over the plains probably as far as the boundary of the present state of Nebraska. He looked for gold, but found none. The expedition then returned to Mexico.

De Soto's expedition also was a result of that of Narvaez. De Soto had been appointed governor of Cuba, and was ordered to hold all the territory discovered by Narvaez. His ^{De Soto} explorations were carried on mainly in the lower part of the Mississippi Valley, and he fell a victim to the pestilential fever that still lingers there. His body was silently buried in the river, and his followers made their way down the river and across the Gulf of Mexico to Cuba.

Up to this time not a single permanent settlement had been founded within the main body of land that now constitutes the United States; but immediately after the expedition ^{Spanish} of Coronado, Catholic missionaries seemed to be in ^{missions;} almost every place where an explorer's feet had trod, ^{Santa Fé} and missions were established through the southern part of the country. Of these missions that at Santa Fé was the most important. When first visited by an exploring party (about 1541), Santa Fé was a thriving Indian pueblo having a population of fifteen thousand; in 1582 it became a Spanish mission.

SUMMARY

According to Chinese legends, Alaska and perhaps the western part of North America were discovered about 500 A.D.

About 1000 A.D. Leif Ericson, with a company of Northmen, established a lumber camp at Vinland, probably some point in New England. This settlement had no influence on the history of America.

The blockade of the trade routes between Europe and the East led to the search for a route to India by sailing around Africa; and this was finally discovered by Vasco da Gama.

Columbus, endeavoring to reach the shores of India by a westward voyage in 1492, discovered land that proved to be a new continent unknown to Europeans.

The new continent was named America after Amerigo Vespucci, an explorer and chronicler.

The Cabots explored portions of the northern coast of North America in 1497-1498, and their discovery was made the basis of England's claims to the mainland of the continent.

The discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Balboa, together with the voyage of Magellan's squadron around the world, practically showed that Columbus had not discovered the eastern shores of India.

Most of the voyages and explorations, especially those of Spain, were a quest for gold.

COLLATERAL READING

The Discovery of America — Fiske. Chapter III.

Ferdinand and Isabella — Prescott. Chapters VIII, IX, XVIII.

History of the United States — Bancroft. Vol. I. Chapters I, II, III.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIANS

The Origin of the Indians.—The origin of the race to which the name Indians has been given is not with certainty known. Some have claimed that they are the descendants of peoples who, at some time in the remote past, crossed to America by way of Bering Strait. The student of history should remember that changes in the elevation of the land are constantly taking place, and that in times gone by Asia and America were joined at Bering Strait by a broad belt of land. At that time Asians might have crossed to the American continent. But although it is certain that people have in early times reached the American coast across Bering Strait, the statement that Asians peopled all America has not been proved.

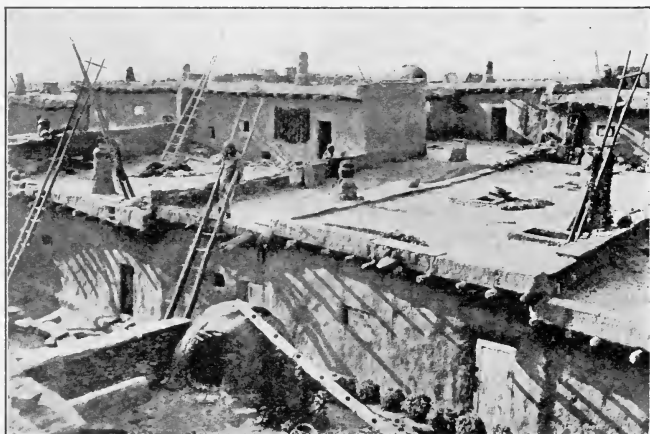
Beyond doubt the aboriginal peoples whom we call Indians must have been living in America many centuries before ever a European had reached its shores, for the heaps of discarded shells which they left scattered all over the continent from Maine to California must have required a very long time to accumulate. In the Mississippi Valley, especially in Ohio, there are many mounds of earth—some of them wrought into fantastic shapes—which were built by the peoples who followed the makers of the shell heaps. In the Colorado plateau one may still find the dismantled walls of more recently built pueblos, some made of roughly shaped stone, others of sun-dried brick; these were built by the aborigines only a few centuries ago.

Prehistoric
records

In Mexico and South America the aborigines had reached a stage of advancement that savored of barbaric splendor. Moreover, they lived at a time which belongs to the period of written

history. The Aztecs, whom Cortez found in Mexico, and the Peruvians, whose rulers Pizarro so cruelly exterminated, do not belong to the legendary period; they were facts and factors in the real history of America.

Indian Civilization. — The romance of history is so fascinating that we are apt to magnify the greatness of these peoples. As a matter of fact, they had not reached civilization at all. In the struggle for existence some tribes had surpassed others in the ability to organize and to wield power with intelligence. There



THE INDIAN PUEBLO OF ZUÑI.

was very little of common interest between tribes; indeed, they were almost always at war with one another. Commercial pursuits were practically unknown.

The Indian warrior disdained every employment save the hunt and the warpath. In these pursuits he was most expert. He could track his prey along a trail so blind that a trained white woodsman would not suspect its existence. In acuteness his sight was much like the scenting power of a hound. He could perfectly imitate the call of the wild animals, and could stalk his prey with the stealthy tread of a cat. His patience and endurance were marvelous; half clad

The Indian warrior

as he crept through the forest, he seemed to feel neither cold nor hunger. War was his chief delight, and in the pursuit of his foe he was revengeful and cruel. He took fiendish delight in torturing his captive foe, and his ingenuity in devising the most horrible way of putting a victim to death was extraordinary. In their general dealings with the white men, however, the Indians were fairly well disposed; they were also about as honest in business transactions as were the white men.

To the squaws fell the drudgery of domestic life. It was the squaw whose

The squaws labor built the wigwam, or wickiup, planted the maize and beans, and stored them for winter use. With nothing better than a pointed stick of hard wood and a flat piece of pine, she could kindle a fire.

With no tools but a knife and a hatchet of flint, she was as skillful in handicraft as her dusky husband. With such tools they felled birch trees and, from the bark, fashioned canoes, the seams of which were sewed with rawhide and made water-tight with the pitch of the spruce tree.

Most of the Indians had reached that stage of advancement when they were ready to cast aside tools of flint for those of metal. The white man furnished them with **Tools and weapons** the tools of metal. The knife and the hatchet which



AN AX OF FLINT.

It was used as a weapon of war, and an expert warrior could hurl it with faultless aim at the head of his foe.



AN INDIAN SQUAW AND PAFOOSE.

the Indian discarded were made by chipping pieces of flint into shape. The making of them required days and even weeks. The tomahawk had a pointed blade and a handle that was elaborately

The bow and arrow, however, constituted the chief weapon. The head of the arrow was made usually of flint; the wooden shaft was scraped into shape with a sharp edge of rock and finished between two pieces of grooved rock. The shaft was feathered to give to it the whirling motion necessary to accurate aim. With the coming of the white man, the Indian at once began to discard flint for the more usable iron and steel, in making his arrowheads and knives. He also quickly discerned the value of the flintlock musket, and to possess himself of such a weapon he would barter away about all the property he had.

The Iroquois Confederacy. — Of all the Indians with whom the Europeans came in contact, the Iroquoian tribes were the most



A CHIEF OF THE
IROQUOANS.

powerful. Most of these tribes were settled in what is now New York State; some pushed southward along the Susquehanna Valley; and one tribe, the Tuscaroras, lived in the present state of North Carolina. From a strategic standpoint the location in New York was most wisely chosen. It was the most commanding position in the eastern part of the continent. Toward the northeast, the Iroquoians could easily descend the St. Lawrence. On the east, there was the Mohawk Valley, a broad and level stretch that led to the Hudson River and thence to the sea. To the south were the open valleys of the Susquehanna and the Allegheny, both of which opened into the hunting grounds of the Algonquian tribe. In such a position as this the Iroquoians were bound to become great,

and the wily old sachems¹ knew this only too well. Even to-day the advantage of this location is evident, for the great railway company whose tracks thread these gateways exercises such control that it practically regulates the rates of traffic between the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic seaboard.

About fifty years before the first voyage of Columbus, the five

¹ The sachem was the chief of a tribe.

tribes of central New York formed the Iroquois Confederacy, calling themselves the Five Nations. All who refused to join them were set upon and exterminated, or were driven east across the Hudson River. Within a few years the tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy were masters everywhere from the Hudson to the Ohio. They were a scourge upon other Indian tribes, exterminating all those from whom they could not force an annual tribute, as they did from the Mohegans and some of the Algonquians to the south. About 1715 the Tuscaroras left their territory in North Carolina and joined the confederacy, thus forming the Six Nations.

The Five Nations

The great power of the Six Nations lay partly in their organization,¹ which was directed by sachems chosen for their ability in statecraft; but they were aided materially by the firearms provided by the fur traders, who soon followed the explorers. These arms made them vastly superior to the tribes whose best weapon was the bow and arrow. When the Dutch settled New York, they provided the Iroquoian tribes with muskets and, at the same time, forbade the Indians in the lower Hudson Valley to have them; with such an advantage in their favor, the Six Nations had no effective opposition among the Indians.

SUMMARY

The origin of the American Indian is not known. By some it is thought that the aborigines came from Asia to America long before the period of written history.

¹The plan of government bore some resemblance to that of the United States. Each tribe was self-governing, but there was also a central government consisting of a Great Council. This body consisted of fifty sachems, elected by certain clans of the tribes. Once a year the Council met in the "Castle," or council house of the confederacy, not far from the present site of Syracuse. In their proceedings the Great Council adopted the "unit rule"; that is, each tribe had a single vote. There was no head sachem; instead, the Council elected a military commander who also exercised certain civil powers. A vote of the Council pledged the action of the confederacy. The vote of the tribe, like that of a modern jury, was required to be unanimous in order to count. One tribe, therefore, might block the will of the Council. The sachems of one tribe might call an extra session of the Council.

Some tribes progressed more rapidly than others and, when the Europeans came, were in the higher stages of barbarism, approaching civilization.

The Iroquoian tribes were the most advanced and most powerful of all the Indians.

The famous confederacy of the Five Nations was formed about fifty years before the voyage of Columbus. It afterward became the Six Nations, by the addition of the Tuscaroras.

COLLATERAL READING

Discovery of America — Fiske. Chapter I.

CHAPTER III

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

FIRST SETTLEMENTS

Early Attempts at Settlement. — The division of the New World between Spain and Portugal did not strike the other European nations agreeably. England, not being a Catholic country, would not recognize at all the decree of Pope Alexander VI; the Netherlands and Sweden ignored it; France ridiculed it, and French adventurers frequently cruised along the American coast. A party of Huguenots,¹ headed by Jean Ribault, attempted (1562) to establish a colony where Port Royal in South Carolina is, but they were ill-fitted for frontier life. Some of them were rescued by an English vessel; others, including Ribault, went to Florida.

Another party, under Laudonnière, built Fort Caroline, at the mouth of St. Johns River, in Florida. In order to head them off, the king of Spain ordered troops (1565) to the place where St. Augustine now stands. Menendez, the Spanish commander, assailed the Huguenots at Fort Caroline and massacred the whole garrison — men, women, and children. Learning also that Ribault with some of his followers was near by, he sought them, murdered most of them, and made slaves of the rest.

There was no excuse for this foul murder. In retaliation Dominique de Gourges, a Frenchman, sold his estates in France to raise the necessary funds, crossed the Atlantic with two hundred men, captured Fort Caroline, and put every Spaniard of the garrison to death. Above the ruins of the fort he placed the inscription — “Not as to Spaniards, but as to liars and mur-

¹ These Huguenots were Protestants who had fled from France.

derers." Menendez himself was not at the fort, and therefore escaped the punishment. The garrison at St. Augustine was maintained by the Spaniards, and it was the first permanent settlement in the main body of what is now the United States.

VIRGINIA

Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies. 1585-1590. — The English did not avail themselves of Cabot's discovery for nearly a century. In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert received a charter from Queen



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

Elizabeth to settle Newfoundland, but the colony which he started was abandoned on his death in 1583. Walter Raleigh, a half-brother of Gilbert, then obtained permission to establish a colony in America, provided it could be done without trespassing on the claims of any other European power. In 1585 Raleigh made a settlement at Roanoke Island, off the coast of the present state of North Carolina; the country was named Virginia in honor of the virgin queen. The people composing the first lot of settlers were wholly unfit for pioneer life, and, when almost starved, were rescued by Sir Francis Drake and carried

back to England. About the only result of this attempt to colonize was the discovery of the potato and tobacco plants, both of which quickly found favor in Europe. In time the commercial profits from these articles helped greatly to interest merchants in the settlements of the New World.

Raleigh's second attempt (1587) also resulted disastrously. A number of families under John White landed at Roanoke Island, intending to establish a colony there. Soon after they reached Roanoke a child was born to Eleanor Dare, the daughter of Gov-

ernor White; this child, who was christened Virginia Dare, was probably the first child born of English parents in the New World. White was compelled to return to England almost immediately. He found that the war with Spain had drawn into service nearly every available vessel, and it was three years before he could charter one in which to return to his colony. When he arrived, in 1590, not a sign of the colonists was to be found; not one of them was ever seen again.¹ Raleigh, sick at heart, disposed of his charter, and no other attempt at colonization was made during the sixteenth century.

Disappearance of the colony

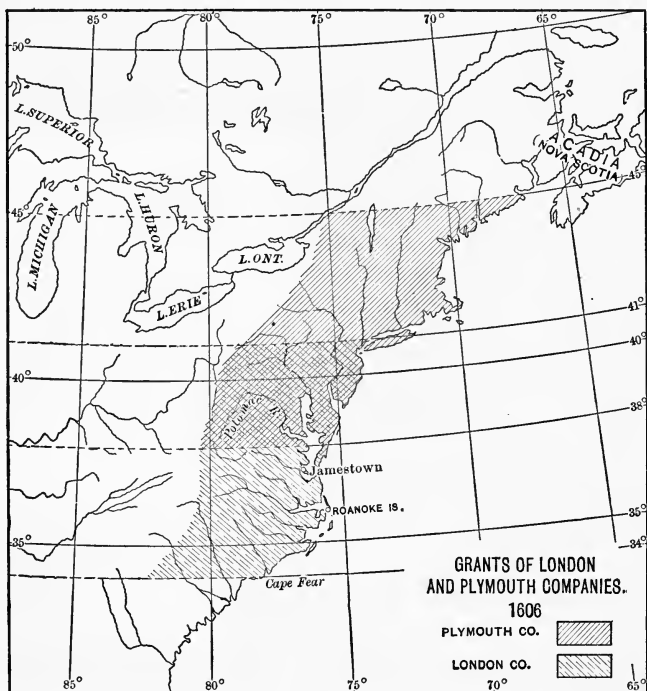
The London and Plymouth Companies. 1606.—Early in the following century the work of exploration and settlement was facilitated by the discovery of a route that shortened the sailing distance between Europe and America nearly one half. This discovery was made by Bartholomew Gosnold, an English navigator. Instead of going first to the West Indies and then to the American coast, as had been the custom, Gosnold simply laid the route straight across the ocean, landing at Cape Cod.

A new route to America

The importance of this route was at once apparent to the thrifty merchants of England, and as a result King James I in 1606 chartered two companies, the London and the Plymouth, directing them to establish colonies in Virginia. According to the charter, Virginia embraced all the Atlantic coast from Maine to the Spanish boundary in Florida. The London company might occupy the coast between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth parallels, which was the area from Cape Fear to the

¹ It had been agreed that if the colonists should leave the island, the name of the place whither they went should be carved on a certain tree. When White reached Roanoke Island, the settlement was deserted. The word "Croatan," the name of a near-by island, was carved on the tree, but there was no cross to indicate that they had left the island in distress, as had been agreed. White tried to reach Croatan Island, but foul weather prevented; the captain of the ship headed for England, giving White the choice of going with him or remaining alone on the deserted island. Recent researches seem to indicate that some of the lost colonists were killed by Indians, others perished, and those remaining were taken into the Croatan tribe. No positive facts about the matter have ever been brought to light.

Potomac River; the Plymouth company might settle between the forty-first and forty-fifth parallels, from the Hudson River to the Bay of Fundy. The intermediate territory should be a neutral zone which could be occupied by each company to a point not nearer than one hundred miles of the other. By a subsequent charter each grant extended westward to the "South



Sea," or Pacific Ocean. The colonists were to have the rights and privileges of English subjects.¹

The Plymouth company, in 1606, attempted to establish a colony near the mouth of the Kennebec River, but the attempt failed and the colonists returned to England.

¹ All the land and the products of labor were to be held in common for five years. This community plan was afterward abolished.

The London company got ready three ships, and in 1607 sent out a party which made a settlement on a river flowing into Chesapeake Bay. The river was named the James and the settlement Jamestown in honor of the king. The found-
ing of In the main the colonists consisted of "gentlemen,"¹ Jamestown. who had no thought of working, but expected to grow rich from finding gold and from trade with the Indians. Half of the colonists died before the summer was over, but in the fall about five hundred more men arrived.

Smith's Leadership; the Starving Time. — Practically the only leader among the Jamestown colonists was Captain John Smith. Smith kept a wholesome discipline among the motley crowd, and prevented any hostile outbreak between the colonists and the Indians. At various times, when starvation threatened the colonists, he secured supplies of corn from the Indians. Although the burden of support thus rested on Smith, he found time to do considerable exploration, which enabled him to make an excellent sailing chart of the Virginia coast, the Chesapeake Bay, and its tributaries. On one of his trips he was captured by Indians and sentenced to be killed, but his life was saved by the intercession of Pocahontas, the daughter of

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.²

¹ In England the terms "gentlemen" and "gentry" apply to men who are descended from titled families but are themselves without any title of nobility. In former years it was considered disgraceful for a gentleman to engage in the ordinary occupations of life. Those who did not care to become clergymen or soldiers often became adventurers.

² This portrait is copied from one in John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*, published in 1624. Accompanying it are the following lines:—

These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That Shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee;
Thy Faire-Discoveries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much civilliz'd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.

Chief Powhatan.¹ Had it not been for the leadership of Smith, the colony would have perished.

In 1609 Smith was injured by the explosion of some gunpowder and was obliged to return to England. After that matters went from bad to worse. Of the number who had come to the colony, nearly seven hundred in all, only sixty were alive by the summer of 1610; the others had perished from fever and starvation, or had been killed by the Indians. The survivors, ill in mind and body, determined to abandon the settlement. They took ship, and were on their way down the Chesapeake Bay when they met Lord Delaware with three vessels laden with men and provisions. The starving time, as it was called, was at an end.

The Beginning of Prosperity. — Lord Delaware had come out as governor of the colony, and his arrival marked the real beginning of the history of Virginia. Under the leadership of Lord Delaware and his deputy, Sir Thomas Dale, all able-bodied men were set to work;² the idlers had the choice of working or being flogged; a few were banished. As a result, in a very few years the colony had a population of four thousand people, grouped in eleven settlements.

The House of Burgesses. 1619. — In 1619 the London company determined to make the colony of Virginia self-governing. The plan was put into operation by Sir George Yeardley, the deputy governor. Yeardley began his governorship by establishing a general assembly that should give the colonists the right to make their laws and to govern themselves. In 1619 this assembly met at Jamestown. It was composed of twenty-two members, two elected from each of the eleven settlements, and was styled the House of Burgesses. Since there was no capitol build-

¹ The story, divested of its romantic elements, is probably true. According to the Indian custom, a captive under sentence might be reprieved at the demand of a chief or any prominent member of the tribe, and this was frequently done. Pocahontas, then a child, always had a deep affection for Smith, whom she addressed as "father." At the age of seventeen she married an Englishman named Rolfe and was received in England as a princess of royal blood. She died at Gravesend, England, a few years later. Several distinguished families, among them that of John Randolph, are descended from her.

² Dale gave each laborer the privilege of cultivating three acres of land for himself. This stimulated industry more than did the flogging.

ing, the sessions were held in the church. The governor was the presiding officer. The Virginia House of Burgesses was the first legislative assembly of white men in America.

Tobacco Cultivation. — Yeardley was not only a good governor, but he was also an excellent business man. He recognized that the success of the colony depended upon a staple export crop; and his business training led him to determine that this crop would be tobacco. As a result of his advice, large crops of tobacco were planted, and the venture proved successful beyond expectation.

The tobacco plant had already become known in England, and in spite of the efforts of King James to prevent its use,¹ tobacco had become very popular. The growing of this plant was a great boon to the colonists, for it paid large profits and, in time, made Virginia the richest of the colonies. The tobacco itself sold so readily that for many years prices were reckoned in pounds of tobacco instead of in money.

The social effects of this industry were marked. Not all land was fit for tobacco cultivation, and the tobacco planter sought the locality that would produce the best crops. This had the effect of scattering the population instead of concentrating it in towns and villages. Since there were few towns, Virginia came to be organized by counties.

The Redemptioners; Slavery. — The labor problem was a difficult one, and various methods were adopted to secure servants and workmen for the plantations. The importation of convicts from England was a common thing, and not infrequently organized bodies in the larger cities of England, known as press gangs, would kidnap young men and put them aboard outgoing ships. A more common way of securing servants was to induce unemployed men and women, by the payment of their passage money, to go to the colony. On their arrival they were bound to the planters for a term of two or three years, or until their passage money had been earned. Many held responsible positions of trust, and there was no loss of social standing on the part of the indentured² servants.

¹ The cultivation of tobacco in England is forbidden to this day.

² So called because their conditions of service were written out on papers called indentures.

Because they could redeem themselves from servitude, they were commonly known as redemptioners.

To get good field laborers was also a difficult matter, because few white laborers could endure the sultry heat of the fields. Late in the summer of 1619 a Dutch ship called at Jamestown and sold into slavery twenty negroes brought from Africa. Inasmuch as the negroes were native to a tropical region, they were not troubled by the summer heat. The venture proved satisfactory. For a few years not many slaves were imported, but in the course of the next fifty years more than two thousand slaves, purchased from Arab traders on the Guinea coast of Africa, were brought to Virginia. They were sold at values varying from \$25 to \$125.

Virginia becomes a Royal Colony. 1624.—By this time the growing spirit of independence in Virginia began to alarm the king, and he endeavored to find some way or other by which he

this 15th Date of May 1672
William Berkeley

BERKELEY'S SIGNATURE TO A DOCUMENT.

could annul the charter. His judges decided that the affairs of the colony had been mismanaged; so in 1624 the charter was annulled. After that the London company had no hand in the management of the colony, and it became a royal province governed by the king.¹ From this time to the Revolution the governors of Virginia were appointed by the king. Notable among them was Sir William Berkeley. Berkeley was an upright man, but he had little sympathy with the colony and its industries.

¹The records of the colony fell into the possession of the king's advisers and were destroyed. Anticipating this, Nicholas Ferrar, the London company's treasurer, made a copy of the records, and, in time, they were obtained by Thomas Jefferson. They are now in the Library of Congress, and they contain about all that is known of this early period of the colony.

His chief desire was to look after the interests of the king. He did not abolish the House of Burgesses, but he was very careful that every burgess should be willing to do his bidding.

The Coming of the Cavaliers. — In the meanwhile a civil war was brewing in England. The two parties in the war were the Puritans and the Cavaliers. The former were opposed to the king and the Church of England; the latter were loyal to both. In the struggle the Cavaliers were defeated, King Charles I was beheaded, and Oliver Cromwell made himself ruler of England. The war had the effect of driving a large number of Cavaliers with their families to Virginia; and inasmuch as these included some of the best blood of England, the colony was a great gainer. Even to this day the strain of Cavalier blood is a dominating element in many parts of the South.



A CAVALIER.

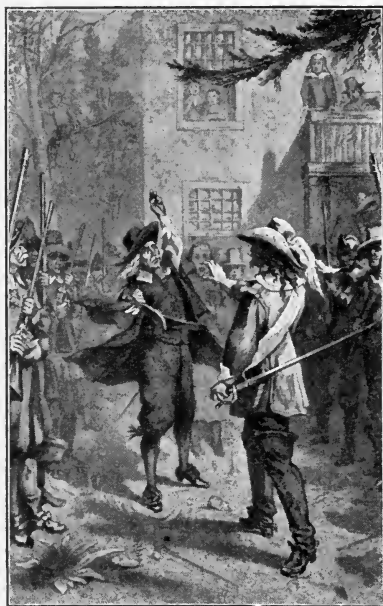
Navigation Laws. 1660. — While Cromwell was in power, Berkeley was displaced as governor; but when Charles II ascended the throne, Berkeley was again appointed royal governor. Almost immediately there began a series of troubles which in the course of a hundred years was to change Virginia from a most loyal colony to one that was decidedly rebellious.

During the early years of the colony few restrictions were placed upon the trade of the Virginians, but beginning with the time of Cromwell enactments known as the navigation laws were made. These laws, made in the interests of London merchants, forbade the colonists selling their tobacco anywhere except in England, or shipping their goods in any but English vessels.¹ The object of the laws was to prevent the competition of the Dutch, who were then becoming very active in the tobacco trade. The navigation laws did not prevent the competition of the Dutch, but the enforcement of them hurt the colonists most seriously. The planters were compelled to sell their tobacco at whatever price

¹ These navigation laws applied to all the colonies.

the English merchants might choose to fix, and the tobacco-growing industry well-nigh failed. Financially the Virginians were almost ruined.

Bacon's Rebellion. 1676. — An Indian outbreak and massacre brought to a crisis the troubles in Virginia. Governor Berkeley promised to protect the settlers, but he failed to keep his word. In the meantime, the massacres at outlying settlements continued.



From the painting by Kelly.

**BACON DEMANDS HIS COMMISSION FROM
GOVERNOR BERKELEY.**

A man with the quality of leadership was needed, and he came to the front. The man was Nathaniel Bacon. Bacon asked for an officer's commission empowering him to raise troops with which to fight the Indians, but Governor Berkeley refused to give it. During the quarrel over this matter, in which both men did various things which were not strictly lawful, Bacon managed to have himself elected to the House of Burgesses. For a time the quarrel was patched up, and Berkeley gave Bacon a commission as commander of the militia. Bacon raised a force of about one thousand men and started for the scene of the Indian troubles. As soon as he was fairly out of sight, Governor Berkeley proclaimed him a rebel and collected a force of twelve hundred men, who were ordered to capture him. When Bacon learned of this, he started back with his troops. At this the governor was deserted by his force. Bacon brought his company back to Jamestown, and as a show of resistance was made, he captured and burned the town.

Very shortly after this Bacon was overcome by severe illness

and died. Berkeley quickly returned to Jamestown, seized the government, and hanged about twenty of Bacon's followers. On account of his conduct he was recalled to England.¹

The Progress of Virginia. — Virginia remained the wealthiest of the American colonies up to the time of the War of the Revolution. That her progress was not so rapid as that of New York or Pennsylvania was due in part to the absence of good roads and commercial centers; it was also due to the conservative character of the people, who, being very prosperous, were content to let well enough alone. Governor Berkeley, in his time, wrote, "I thank God there are no free schools and no printing;" but after this period a broad and liberal spirit was manifested toward educational affairs. Through the energy of James Blair, William and Mary College was established in 1693 at a place to which the name of Williamsburg was given.

MARYLAND

The Maryland Charter. 1632. — The early history of Maryland is closely connected with that of Virginia, because the colony was established on a part of the original Virginia territory. George Calvert, better known as Lord Baltimore, was a warm friend of Charles I, who used his royal power to cut a large slice out of Virginia for a land grant to Lord Baltimore. The territory was named Maryland in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. Calvert had previously attempted to establish a settlement in Newfoundland, but it was abandoned on account of the severe climate. The Maryland charter to Lord Baltimore gave him considerable authority. He could grant titles of nobility, establish courts, and pardon criminals; he could make the laws with the assent of the freeholders, although he could not levy taxes without their consent; in fact, the form of government was in theory as much a monarchy as England herself.² Lord Baltimore died before the

¹ Charles II said of him, "That old fool has put to death in that naked country more people than I did here for the death of my father." Only six of the fifty-nine judges who sentenced Charles I suffered the death penalty.

² It was a form of government closely resembling the "palatinates" of Germany.

fifteen years later (1649) a Puritan settlement was made at the present site of Annapolis. In both settlements tobacco growing quickly became the chief industry, and commerce in tobacco was the financial foundation of the colony. An assembly to which the colonists sent representatives was established in 1638. There was the usual amount of friction in the administration of the colony's affairs, but, owing to the wisdom and fairness of Lord Baltimore, there was practically no trouble with the Indians.

Trouble with Virginia. — The Virginians were not willing to see a slice cut out of their territory and given to their competitors. The ill feeling was intensified when, in 1635, William Claiborne of Virginia, a fur trader, was ordered off Kent Island in the Chesapeake Bay, where his trading post had been established. Claiborne refused to recognize the authority of Lord Baltimore, and tried to hold the island by force of arms. A clash between the authorities of the two colonies resulted, and Claiborne was put off the island. For several years afterward, however, he was busy fomenting trouble.

**Claiborne's
Rebellion**

The Overthrow of the Catholics. — After the beheading of Charles I, the political revolution which placed the Puritans in power in England extended to Maryland. Commissioners sent by Crom-



THE SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND.

In use from 1658 to 1776.

well demanded that the people should swear loyalty to the new Commonwealth; Lord Baltimore insisted that they should give their allegiance to him. Governor Stone, a most able officer and a Protestant, agreed to acknowledge loyalty to the Commonwealth

of England, but refused to forswear his allegiance to Lord Baltimore. In consequence he was forced out of office.

The commissioners then ordered the election of a general assembly (1654). They also directed that no Catholic should be elected to it. The assembly at its meeting declared that Lord Baltimore no longer had any proprietary rights in the colony, repealed the Toleration Act, and forbade Catholics to worship in the colony. This state of affairs continued for several years. In 1658, however, a new Parliament restored to Lord Baltimore his rights in the colony. When William and Mary came to the throne of England, in 1689, Maryland was made a royal province under the pretense that the Catholics were conspiring with the Indians to massacre all Puritans. In 1715 the colony was restored to the third Lord Baltimore, who was a Protestant, at the almost unanimous desire of the people in the colony, without respect to creed. The colony remained in the hands of the Baltimore family until the Revolution.

Mason and Dixon's Line. — At times bloody disputes occurred over the boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania. Finally (1760) two English surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, were employed to locate the line. Stone posts were placed along the line at intervals of one mile, every fifth column being marked with the coat of arms of the proprietors. The latitude of the boundary thus located is $39^{\circ} 43' 26.3''$. It became known as "Mason and Dixon's line."

THE CAROLINAS — NORTH AND SOUTH

Early Settlements. 1653–1670. — Nearly a century after Ribault's attempt to found a colony where Port Royal now is,¹ some Virginians (1653) settled on Chowan River, near Albemarle Sound. Ten years later settlements were made by English planters from Barbadoes, forming the Carteret colony on Cape Fear River.

At this time Charles II granted the region between the parallels of 30° and $36^{\circ} 30'$ to an English company. The coast
The Carolina grant frontage of the grant embraced practically the present

¹ See page 25.

Carolinas, Georgia, and a part of Florida. In recognition of this gift from the king, the name Carolina¹ was given to the territory. Within a few years the peninsula between Ashley and Cooper rivers was settled, and at its point Charles's Town, or Charleston, was built (1670). Religious liberty was guaran-



THE SOUTHERN COLONIES.

teed to all settlers, and many Huguenots went there. Most of them were wealthy and educated, and they made the best of citizens.²

¹ *Carolus* is the Latin form for Charles.

² Among their descendants were Henry Laurens, who signed the Treaty of Peace at the close of the Revolutionary War, and General Marion, a famous soldier of the Revolution.

The Grand Model. 1669. — Lord Shaftsbury and the philosopher John Locke drew up a scheme for the government of the colony, which was proclaimed the "Grand Model" and asserted to be "the most perfect plan ever designed." Unfortunately, the scheme did not give any rights of citizenship to the men who had built up the colony; they had the right neither to vote nor to own the land which they had made productive. In a very short time the Grand Model proved to be a grand farce, and was unceremoniously dropped out of sight.

The Division into Two Colonies. — The northern and southern settlements were remote from each other and therefore had but little intercommunication. They were under separate governors most of the time, though forming a single colony. In 1712 the colony was divided formally into North Carolina and South Carolina. In 1729 the proprietors sold their rights to the king, and each colony became a royal province.

Some Unique Industries. — In North Carolina the manufacture of naval stores — that is, tar and pitch — for a time was the chief industry. The enterprise was made possible by the abundant growth of the pitch pine there. The materials were in demand by shipbuilders, and North Carolina furnished the world's chief supply. It was discovered that the coast lowlands of South Carolina would produce an excellent quality of rice, and rice growing became the most important industry of that colony. Through the efforts of the daughter of Governor Lucas, the cultivation of the indigo plant was undertaken, and for many years South Carolina had a rich income from the sales of this substance.

The Tendency to Self-Government. — The enforcement of the navigation laws¹ crippled the Carolinas quite as much as it did Virginia. As in the other colonies, too, the people grew into the habit of resisting any interference with self-government; they knew better than the mother country what sort of government was best adapted to their needs. At one time (1678) John Culpeper, at the head of a force of men, deposed the officers of the Albemarle settlement and organized a new government. He was tried for treason and acquitted.

¹ See page 33.

GEORGIA

The Objects in Founding the Colony. — Georgia, the last to be established of the colonies that became a part of the United States, was not organized until 1732, about a century and a quarter after Virginia had been settled. The founder of the colony was General James Oglethorpe, a far-sighted and benevolent Englishman. One of Oglethorpe's objects was to establish a "buffer" territory between the English and Spanish frontiers. At that time this step had become necessary from the fact that several collisions had occurred between the English and the Spanish colonies. Such a territory, therefore, would make an excellent base for military defense.

The other object was philanthropic. At that time imprisonment was a lawful punishment for debt in England. A man owing so small a sum as a shilling might be cast into prison and kept there until his friends paid the debt; and many a poor wretch spent the greater part of his years behind the bars of a debtor's prison. Moreover, by a system of fees and charges, a

debt of a few shillings quickly grew to one of many pounds; and death by starvation was no uncommon end of an unfortunate whose only crime was a debt that he could not discharge. Oglethorpe planned to settle the debts of deserving people, send them to his new colony, and after putting them on their feet, give them an opportunity to live comfortably, as they could not in England.

Establishing the Colony. 1733. — The charter for a colony between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers was granted by King George II in 1732 to Oglethorpe and his associates, who

General
Oglethorpe



James Oglethorpe

were made trustees of the colony. Emigrants sent out with Oglethorpe founded Savannah in 1733. Other settlements were made soon by the Scotch-Irish and Moravians, a sect of German Protestants, who came in considerable numbers.

After twenty years the trustees gave up their charter, and Georgia became a royal province (1752) under the direct control of the king.

Trade and Political Restrictions. — For some years the progress of the colony was retarded by restrictions, some of which were unwise. During the first twenty-one years the right to make the laws of the colony was vested in an association of trustees in whose appointment the people had no voice. The people did not have any part in the government, and therefore had no training in citizenship. Another article in the law prohibited women and Catholics from holding or owning land. Still another forbade slavery, and this restriction crippled the agriculture and the commerce of the colony to such an extent that competition with other colonies in tobacco growing was out of the question.¹ The importation of liquor was also forbidden; this restriction prevented the sale of Georgia pine in the West Indies, owing to the fact that rum was the chief article offered by the islands in exchange for importations. One benefit arising from the trade restrictions, however, was the introduction of silk culture, which for a time was an important industry. These restrictions were removed, for the greater part, in 1755.

Border Warfare with the Spaniards. 1742. — The establishment of the Georgia colony proved to be a most wise measure. In 1742 the Spaniards at St. Augustine determined to drive the English out of Georgia. They landed three thousand men and began the task of invasion. General Oglethorpe retreated from the coast, and when the Spanish force was drawn into a position suitable for attack, he let loose his Scotch-Irish militia. In about an hour all the fight was thrashed out of the Spaniards.

¹ It was largely through the efforts of George Whitefield, the celebrated preacher, that slavery was finally permitted in the colony. John and Charles Wesley, the founders of the Methodist Episcopal Church, were members of the colony.

Those not killed or captured got back to their ships and sailed for St. Augustine. A few years later the present southern boundary of Georgia was fixed.

SUMMARY

Between 1585 and 1590 Sir Walter Raleigh made two unsuccessful efforts to establish a colony on Roanoke Island.

The discovery of the "short route" to America by Bartholomew Gosnold encouraged exploration, and the Plymouth and London companies were formed.

Virginia was settled by the London company at Jamestown in 1607.

In the early days John Smith saved the colony from destruction. With tobacco growing came prosperity, followed by the coming of many Englishmen and the introduction of slavery.

The House of Burgesses in Virginia, established in 1619, was the first elective legislative assembly in America.

The charter was annulled in 1624, and the colony was made a royal province, directly dependent on the Crown.

Maryland, designed as a colony for persecuted Catholics, was founded by Lord Baltimore as proprietor in 1634.

All Christian denominations enjoyed religious toleration.

Under the rule of Oliver Cromwell in England, the Puritans in Maryland came into power. They not only denied the title of Lord Baltimore to the colony, but forbade to the Catholics the exercise of political rights. After a few years his rights were restored to Lord Baltimore.

For twenty-six years Maryland was a royal province, but in 1715 it was given again to the third Lord Baltimore.

Tobacco planting was the chief industry of the colony.

In order to establish a boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, the Mason and Dixon line was surveyed.

The Carolinas were settled by Virginians at Chowan River, and by Barbadoes planters on Cape Fear River. These settlements grew into the colony of North Carolina.

A settlement was made at Charleston, where many French Huguenots came. This came to be South Carolina.

The manufacture of naval stores was the chief industry in North Caro-

lina; the cultivation of rice and indigo was the chief employment in South Carolina.

For much of the time the two Carolinas were under separate governors, although they were one colony. They were made distinct royal provinces in 1729.

Georgia was founded by James Oglethorpe as a colony for men rescued from English debtors' prisons. It was also regarded as a "buffer" frontier against the Spaniards.

Savannah was settled in 1733.

Political and trade restrictions retarded the growth of the colony.

The Spaniards attempted an invasion, but were defeated by General Oglethorpe.

COLLATERAL READING

Old Virginia and her Neighbors — Fiske. Read the following topics: Drake's voyage, Vol. I, 25; Captain John Smith, Vol. I, 80; starving time, Vol. I, 119; the Kingdom of Virginia, Vol. I, 223; piracy, Vol. II, 338; tobacco culture in the Southern colonies, Vol. II, 174; Maryland after the death of Cromwell, Vol. II, 131; the northern boundary, Vol. II, 145; Locke's perfect plan, Vol. II, 272; the beginning of Georgia, Vol. II, 335.

These topics may be read also in Bancroft's *History of the United States*.

Stories of Pennsylvania — Brumbaugh and Walton.

For biographical sketches read Chandler's *Makers of Virginia History*, and Chappell's *Georgia History Stories*.

CHAPTER IV

THE DUTCH AND QUAKER COLONIES

NEW YORK

Verrazano visits New York Bay. 1524. — Among the people interested in the trade with India in the early years of the sixteenth century were certain merchants of Dieppe, in France. At that time the belief was general that the newly found continent was a very narrow body of land. Balboa had crossed it at the



THE MAIOLLO MAP, 1527.

Copied from a chart made by Verrazano's brother, showing the isthmus supposed to separate the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

Isthmus of Panama, where it is less than thirty miles wide, and Magellan had sailed through the short strait that now bears his name. Hence there were pretty good reasons for such a belief. Full of the idea that a passage-way through the new land must

exist, a company of these merchants of Dieppe employed Giovanni da Verrazano to search the coast for such a passage.

In January, 1524, Verrazano reached the coast of North Carolina, which he described as "a new land, never before seen by men." Keeping along the coast to the northeast he entered nearly every bay or estuary which he sighted, hoping that it might be a strait leading to the Pacific.

Search for
the Pacific

That he thought he had seen the Pacific Ocean seems probable from a map made by his brother. On this map North America is shaped much like an hourglass, being about ten miles wide at a point which may be either the eastern shore of Virginia or the spit that incloses Pamlico Sound (North Carolina).

It is fairly certain that Verrazano visited New York Bay. His description fits this bay so accurately as to leave little room for doubt; moreover, French fur traders were very shortly afterward doing a lucrative business there with the Indians. They built a stockade and trading post on an island in the Hudson not far from the place where Albany now stands. No permanent settlement, however, was made in the region for nearly a century, nor did the French make an effort to establish any claim to the land.

Henry Hudson explores New York Bay. 1609.—Early in the seventeenth century there was a well-to-do family in London who, as merchants and traders, held a high position in commercial circles. One member of this family, Henry Hudson, had been employed by an English trading company to seek a short route to India by way of the north polar regions. Hudson did not find the passage he sought, but he nevertheless made himself famous as a sailor and active explorer. In the service of a Dutch company in April, 1609, he sailed out of the Zuyder Zee in the *Half Moon*, a vessel about the size of a pleasure yacht, in search of a northeast route to India. After finding his way blocked by the ice that had gathered about the island of Nova Zembla, he decided to turn back.

Search for a
northern
passage

Hudson had in his possession two things which influenced him to disobey the order to return home in case he was obstructed by ice. One was the map of Verrazano, showing the narrow waist

of land with Verrazano Sea (the Pacific Ocean) beyond it; the other was a letter from Captain John Smith telling him that, although there was no passage through to the Pacific in the neighborhood of the Chesapeake Bay, there might be one farther north. Within a few weeks from the time that Hudson turned away from the polar regions, the *Half Moon* entered Delaware Bay. Finding no prospect of a passage there, Hudson sailed northward into New York Bay. He spent about the whole of September exploring the bay and the river that flows into it, ascending the river as far as the present site of Albany. Not finding any passage to the ocean, he returned to New York Bay.¹



HENRY HUDSON.

The Dutch occupy New Netherland. 1613. — The merchants of Amsterdam quickly saw the great possibilities of New York Bay. The harbor was not surpassed by any in Europe; the country around was peopled with Indians. The harbor was most advantageous for a trading post, and the Indians could procure an abundance of pelts and furs. So a corporation, the West India Company, was formed for the purpose of developing trade, and a trading post was established on Manhattan Island.²

¹ On his return to Europe he was ordered to England and put in charge of another arctic expedition under the English flag. While in arctic waters, his crew became mutinous and set Hudson, his young son, and seven sailors in a boat, out in the open sea. They were never heard of afterward.

² About the same time a master mariner and trader, Hendrick Christianson, rebuilt an old trading post, Fort Nassau, on an island in the Hudson River, not far from the site of Albany. It had been occupied formerly by French traders, but at that time (1614) had been abandoned. On account of floods the post

As early as 1613 a "strong house," or fort, of considerable pretensions and a number of houses were in existence, some of the latter being constructed of brick brought from Holland. The settlement was called New Amsterdam, and New Netherland was the name given to the country around Manhattan Island. The colony, composed mainly of traders, did not increase very rapidly; nevertheless in 1634 there were settlements on Manhattan Island, on Long Island, at Breucklen (Brooklyn), and on the peninsula between New York and Newark bays.¹



DUTCHMEN TRADING WITH THE INDIANS.

Manhattan Island was purchased of the Indians (1626) by the first resident governor, Peter Minuit, for sixty guilders, a sum about equal to twenty-four dollars. The payment was made in commodities needed by the Indians. Perhaps the transaction might not stand a very strict examination, yet on the whole the West India Company was afterward moved to the mainland and named Fort Orange. This fort was the beginning of Albany.

¹ This strip of land was named Pavonia, a Latinized form of the patroon's name, one De Pauw. The name Bayonne, now applied to the town embracing the peninsula, is evidently a modern derivation.

accustomed to deal fairly with the Indians, because the success of the fur trade depended on friendly relations with them.

The Patroons. — In order to encourage permanent settlement in New Netherland, the West India Company in 1629 offered a large tract of land to each of its members who should bring to the colony fifty able-bodied settlers. This grant constituted a manor, and the member to whom the grant was made was styled a patroon. The patroon was required to pay the emigrant's passage money and to furnish him house, stock, and farming utensils.¹ It was customary also to provide a clergyman and a school teacher. The tenant, for his part, was required to pay a nominal rental, but this was not always exacted. He was required also to give the patroon the first chance to buy his crops. He was not permitted to engage in the manufacture of anything that was made in Holland, nor could he traffic in furs and pelts.

The patroon who located his estates on one side of a navigable river could have sixteen miles of water front; if he located on both sides, he had eight miles on the river. The West India Company's grant, or patent, did not give the patroon a full title to the lands; the latter must be purchased of the Indians, and this, as a rule, was scrupulously done. On his manor the patroon had absolute authority, being lawmaker, ruler, and judge. Even at the present time some of the old manor buildings still exist, and the patroon names are common along the Hudson.

Dutch Governors. 1626-1664. — The affairs of the West India Company were at no time very prosperous, although the traders and patroons got along very well. Minuit's successor, Governor Wouter Van Twiller, lacked administrative ability, and the waspish temper of Governor Kieft plunged the colony into troubles with the Indians which resulted in a terrible Indian war.²

¹ In some instances African slaves were also furnished. These were owned by the patroon, but were fed and lodged by the tenant.

² The Indians about New Amsterdam were Delawares, who belonged to the Algonquian family; those about the Mohawk Valley were Iroquoians and the mortal enemies of the Delawares. Kieft forbade the Delawares to possess fire-arms, while he supplied them to the Mohawks, in order to facilitate the fur and pelt trade. See page 88 for an account of this war.

Peter Stuyvesant, the last and most capable governor during the period of Dutch occupation, put the company's affairs in good shape. He permitted the election of an advisory council to look after some of the details of government, and induced the company to make more liberal provisions for education. He was an honest and efficient ruler, although decidedly arbitrary and tyrannical. He brooked no interference with his administration, and the settlement was probably the better for it.

Conflict over English Claims. — New Netherland was situated in the neutral zone between the grants of the London company and the Plymouth company.¹ The English therefore regarded the presence of the Dutch in Manhattan and the Hudson Valley as an intrusion. There were English settlers in considerable numbers on Long Island and in the western part of what is now Connecticut. They had settled, moreover, upon lands claimed by the West India Company, under the charter of New Netherland. Governor Stuyvesant wisely refrained from disturbing them, however, fearing that it would bring about a conflict with England.²

English settlers kept encroaching on the lands of the West India Company and finally (1655) one Thomas Pell leisurely surveyed a large tract within a dozen miles of Governor Stuyvesant's farm, and proceeded to move his goods and chattels upon it. Stuyvesant ordered him off, but Pell paid no attention to the order, probably because he had been promised protection by Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. The affair caused no little friction between the colonies, and, with other matters, was laid before the home governments.

The Fall of New Netherland. 1664. — By this time the English had begun to realize the fact that New York Bay was not only

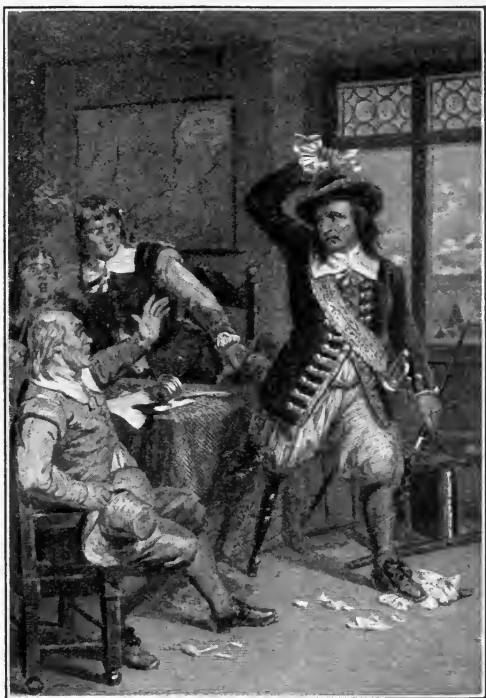
¹ See page 28.

² In 1650 Stuyvesant renounced the Dutch claims to the eastern part of Long Island and Connecticut, and, by a treaty signed at Hartford, it was agreed that a line north from Greenwich Bay (at the present western boundary of Connecticut) should separate the two colonies on the mainland, while one drawn south from Oyster Bay should be the boundary on Long Island. The charter of Massachusetts gave that colony sovereignty westward to the Pacific Ocean.

the commercial key to the Atlantic coast of North America, but the most strategic point as well. England was at peace with Holland at this time. Nevertheless, King Charles II secretly gave the whole region about New York Bay, including Connecticut, to his brother the Duke of York, who then dispatched four vessels with five hundred men to seize New Amsterdam.

When Colonel Richard Nichols with this squadron reached New Amsterdam in 1664, to his surprise he found but little opposition. Governor Stuyvesant stormed about and swore he would not surrender, but he finally submitted to the inevitable. The Dutch flag was hauled down and the English standard was raised. New Netherland thereby became, an English province, and New Amsterdam was christened New York. In 1673, during a war between England and Holland, New York was recaptured, but it was given back to the English in less than a year, in exchange for Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and an island of the Banda group, near the Moluccas.

The fall of New Netherland could be regarded as a foregone conclusion from the first. Even were there no internal causes,



From the painting by Powell.

STUYVESANT DESTROYS THE DEMAND FOR
SURRENDER.

the geographical position of the colony was such that it must either absorb the two English colonies that surrounded it, or else be absorbed by them. But the rule of the West India Company was of a military nature and it constantly irritated the people. In the main, the settlers were certainly prosperous, but they were not nearly so well off as their English neighbors all around them. The latter paid no taxes except the small sums which they assessed upon themselves; the Dutch, on the other hand, were heavily taxed. The English elected the officers to administer the laws they themselves made; the Dutch had no voice in the plan by which they were ruled. They finally came to the conclusion that any rule was better than that of the West India Company.

A Century of English Rule. — New York remained a royal colony for more than a century. The English governors, one of whom was Edmund Andros, with few exceptions, rarely visited the colony; they were content to draw their salaries and remain at home¹ — a plan that was highly satisfactory to all concerned. The responsible executive was the lieutenant-governor, who was almost always a colonist. The real management of affairs was in the hands of the leading men of the colony. The colonial charter gave to the assembly, which was elected by the people, control of the public funds, and without funds the governor could accomplish nothing; he certainly was powerless to do any mischief. Thus, with an elective assembly controlling the public funds, even a royal province might enjoy a large amount of local self-government.

NEW JERSEY

The Settlement of New Jersey. — During the Dutch period, the territory between the Hudson and Delaware rivers had remained almost unoccupied, except for the manors that had been established

¹ Governor Thomas Dongan was a notable exception. He was a statesman possessing great executive ability and a breadth of character not commonly found in the men of his time. In shaping the policy of the future state, he accomplished more than all the other colonial governors.

along the rivers.¹ Governor Winthrop of Connecticut had been led to believe that this region would be given to Connecticut as a reward for his services in the overturning of New Netherland. Colonel Nichols, the governor of New York, had supposed it to be a part of that colony, and had issued to purchasers several patents



THE MIDDLE COLONIES.

for tracts of considerable size. To the surprise of all, however, they discovered that the Duke of York had already given away the whole region to Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley (1664). These proprietors named it New Jersey.

¹ There were the villages of Hoboken, Pavonia, and Bergen. A few families from Long Island had taken farms on the shore of Newark Bay.

Carteret and Berkeley did not find the task of colony making an easy one. In spite of the fact that the people had about all the political privileges they asked for, there was constant turmoil. Lord Berkeley finally wearied of his purchase and sold it (1673) to a company of Friends, who founded the town of Burlington. At this time the region was divided into East Jersey and West Jersey. William Penn, acting for another company of Friends, purchased West Jersey. In 1702 both colonies agreed to give up their charters, and they were united as the royal province of New Jersey.

PENNSYLVANIA

The Society of Friends. — Since the Church was managed by the State in most European countries at this period, a religious



A QUAKER.

heretic was almost always a political heretic as well, no matter what might be his country or his faith. Among the religious sects in England that became very prominent was the Society of Friends, or Quakers,¹ as they are commonly called. Now, although their belief was a pure and spiritual doctrine, yet some of the members of the society were very troublesome. In obedience to what they conceived to be their duty, they not only refused to recognize the forms of church worship established by law, but they also refused to observe the ceremonies expected of citizens toward their chief magistrates. A Friend would not doff his hat to the king, nor would he kneel to the Pope; he would not permit himself to address any one by a title of

honor. He would pay taxes neither for the support of an established church nor for war. He would not even take an oath in court.

¹ It is alleged that George Fox, the founder of the sect, when before Judge Bennet at Derby (1650), said to him, "I bid thee tremble before the word of the Lord"; whereupon the judge was satirically called a "Quaker."

As a result, the Friends were constantly in trouble. In England they were punished as violators of the law, and were mercilessly persecuted as well. This resulted, not in crushing them but, as is usually the case, in increasing their numbers and strengthening the cause they upheld.

William Penn. — William Penn, a son of Admiral Sir William Penn, was a Friend. He came from a noted fighting family, and his conversion to the principles of the sect seems to have developed in him the fighting characteristics of the family. He was expelled from Oxford University for obnoxious conduct in expressing his faith, and for the next ten or fifteen years he divided his time between a very strenuous "passive resistance"¹ and the prison to which he was sent as a punishment for disobedience. He had the friendship of Charles II before the latter became king; more than once Charles interceded for Penn and, on one occasion, got him out of prison.²

During the turmoil incident to restoring the monarchy after the rule of Cromwell, Charles II had become indebted to Admiral Penn to the amount of sixteen thousand pounds. This claim against the king was inherited by William Penn. When he decided to remove the Society of Friends from England, he offered the king a receipt in full for the debt, provided he should have a deed to the unoccupied lands remaining in the neutral zone between the grants of the London and the Plymouth companies. This territory, in all about forty thousand square miles, was granted to Penn in 1681. At the same time Penn purchased the land now forming the state of Delaware, in order to have a seaboard for his colony.

The Colony of Pennsylvania. — During 1681 a number of Quaker families settled at Chester on the Delaware, a town which had

¹ Passive resistance, as distinguished from active, forcible resistance, marked the conduct and the policy of the society.

² Admiral Penn was a strong supporter of the Stuarts, then the reigning family of England, and had helped in restoring the House of Stuart to the throne. William Penn, the son, was absolutely fearless in doing what he believed to be right and just. His fighting proclivities were mellowed by the ripeness of age, and even his bitterest opponents bore testimony to the sturdy quality of his character.



been settled by the Swedes. The following year (1682) Penn himself, in company with about one hundred people, set sail for America, in order to establish what he termed the "Holy Experiment." That same year he founded the city of Philadelphia,¹ the plan of which remains practically unchanged to this day.² The first house was built in 1683, and in three years following the city gained more in population than New York City had gained in forty years.

Penn was determined that the government should be very liberal. He himself appointed the governor; an advisory council and an assembly were elected by the people. The Indians were paid for all lands taken, and the treaty made between them and the colony was kept so long as the Friends controlled the colony. Full religious liberty was guaranteed; all taxpayers could vote; any member of a Christian church might hold office; and every child was to be taught a useful trade.

The liberality in religious matters, together with the excellent government, attracted many settlers, and these were of the very best. At the middle of the eighteenth century Philadelphia

had a population of thirty thousand; Lancaster, York, and Newcastle were thriving towns.³ Next to Virginia, Pennsylvania was the richest colony. Wheat, lumber, ale, glass, and pig iron



Wm Penn

¹ The name Philadelphia means "brotherly love." The name of the colony, Pennsylvania, signifies "Penn's woods."

² That is, the part of the city situated between the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers. It included the Swedish village of Wicaco, founded in 1636 by Queen Christina of Sweden. It also included a prosperous Indian village. Old Swede's Church, yet standing, was built (1700) on the site of a log church and blockhouse built in 1677 by the Swedes.

³ The lands known as the New Purchase were bought of the Six Nations in

were exported to England; the foreign commerce required five hundred ships.

Penn's sons succeeded him as proprietors of the colony.

DELAWARE

Swedish Settlements. 1630-1655. — The Swedes shared the general desire to acquire territory in America. Some time about 1630 they made settlements along the banks of the lower Delaware River, one on Tinicum Island near Philadelphia, and another on the site of that city. In 1637 they occupied the lands of a Dutch colony near the present town of Lewes, Delaware, the Dutch having been driven away by Indians. The Swedes purchased from the natives the bay and river front from Cape Henlopen to the present site of Wilmington. The Dutch, however, never gave up their claim to this region; Governor Stuyvesant captured it in 1655, making it a part of New Netherland, and expelled all who would not swear allegiance to Holland.

The Colony changes Hands. — When the Duke of York seized New Netherland in 1664, Delaware became an English possession. York sold it, in 1681, to William Penn, and for a time it was considered a part of Pennsylvania, although under a separate charter. At the time of its sale it was known as The Territories. At the beginning of the War of the Revolution the people declared themselves independent, and Delaware was the name given to the state.

SUMMARY

New York Bay was probably first entered by Verrazano in 1524, but Hudson's discovery of it in 1609 led to the first settlement.

The Dutch West India Company established a trading post on Manhattan Island in 1613.

1768. This tract added the counties now included in the northwestern part of the state, and a very large immigration was attracted into the valleys of the Susquehanna and Allegheny rivers. Just after the beginning of the War of the Revolution (1778), the Congress purchased the unsold lands for the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

The colony was built up by the method of giving land grants called manors to any member of the company who might bring to the colony fifty able-bodied settlers.

The English captured New Amsterdam in 1664, made it a province of England, and named it New York.

The Duke of York granted New Jersey to Carteret and Berkeley in 1664. They sold East Jersey to a company of Friends, who settled at Burlington, and West Jersey to William Penn. The two colonies were united and became a royal province in 1702.

Pennsylvania was settled by Friends from England under the leadership of William Penn, to whom the lands were given.

In 1682 Penn, with about one hundred followers, founded the city of Philadelphia.

The government was liberal, and full religious freedom was allowed.

Swedish emigrants formed several settlements along the lower Delaware River from 1630 to 1640. In 1655 Governor Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam took possession.

Delaware became an English possession in 1664, and in 1681 was purchased by William Penn to be included as a part of Pennsylvania.

Delaware became a separate state at the beginning of the War of the Revolution.

COLLATERAL READING

Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America — Fiske. Henry Hudson, Vol. I, 82; the patroons, Vol. I, 133; wampum, Vol. I, 174; Peter Stuyvesant, Vol. I, 198; Dutch and English, Vol. I, 274; Sir Edmund Andros, Vol. II, 37; William Penn, Vol. II, 114; Penn, Andros, and West Jersey, Vol. II, 141; the Quaker exodus, Vol. II, 155; New York annexed to New England, Vol. II, 177; Leisler, Vol. II, 188; Captain Kidd, Vol. II, 232; the Pennsylvania Commonwealth, Vol. II, 294; Knickerbocker Society, Vol. II, 258.

The Making of the Empire State — Redway.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

PLYMOUTH COLONY

The Puritans and the Separatists. — The invention of the art of printing from movable type marked the beginning of a period of religious unrest, and the relation of the two is not difficult to understand. Before the art of printing was discovered, books were copied letter for letter and word for word by scribes trained for the work. Only the churches, the schools, and the wealthy people could afford to possess copies of the Bible. The greater number of these were in the Greek or the Latin language, and therefore could not be understood by the masses of people. About the first book to be printed was the Bible. In England and Scotland several translations were made, and within a few years after the invention of printing a Bible could be found in the home of the humblest family.

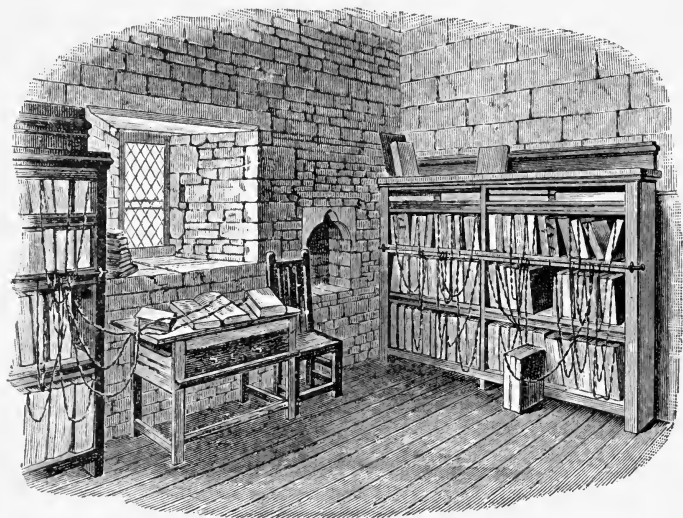
The inven-
tion of
printing

Now it is not an easy matter for untrained minds to comprehend the Bible, and as a result different people interpreted its sayings in different ways. In England a great many became dissatisfied with the creed of the Established Church. As early as 1580 there were dissenters from it who declared their right to worship as they pleased. Those who actually withdrew from the Established Church were called Separatists because they had separated from it. But many remained in the Church of England and tried to purify it. They were therefore commonly known as Puritans.

Religious Persecution results in Emigration. — Both in England and on the continent the affairs of the Church and the State were so closely entangled that, in many cases, to refuse the doc-

trines of the Church was also to disobey the State. Dissenters from the Church were therefore very apt to be offenders against the laws of the land. No one seemed to realize that to punish people for obedience to their conscience is the surest way to strengthen them in their belief. The punishment of dissenters became so severe that it grew into persecution.

In England, during the first years of the seventeenth century, religious persecution was at its height. At this time the law



A CHAINED LIBRARY, FOUNDED 1598.

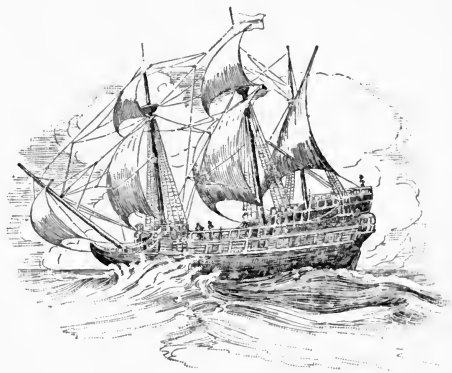
It was the usual practice in olden times, when books were rare and precious, to chain them to the shelves so that they could not be stolen.

compelled every one to attend the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was the Established Church of England, and also to pay taxes for its support. This was a great injustice to the Catholics, who were thereby compelled not only to pay toward the support of a church in whose doctrines they did not believe, but also to accept these doctrines. The Puritans and the Separatists were likewise objects of persecution, and so there began an exodus of Catholics, Puritans; and Separatists who found life in England intolerable.

The Pilgrims sail for America. 1620. — In 1607¹ a congregation of Separatists living in Scrooby emigrated to Holland, where they could enjoy religious freedom without being “hunted like wild beasts” and “clapt up in prison.” There they lived peacefully at Leyden for eleven years, and by the end of that time the company had grown to about one thousand. Many objected to remaining longer in Holland, because they discovered that their children were growing up to be Dutch in character and customs, instead of English; they also feared a religious war between Spain and Holland. So they resolved to establish a community which, while thoroughly English, would afford them the religious liberty they sought.

The Pilgrims in Holland

This, they thought, could be found only in America. So William Brewster and John Robinson, the leaders of the congregation, secured from the London company a grant of land to be located “somewhere near Hudson’s River, within the limits of Virginia.”² In company with Captain Miles Standish, Brewster and about one hundred and twenty Separatists left Holland in the ship *Speedwell*, bound for Southampton, England; there they were joined by the *Mayflower*. King James refused royal permission to the undertaking of the congregation, but he also declined to notice their presence in an English port, believing that



THE MAYFLOWER.

¹ The date 1608 is given by some authorities.

² The company of “Merchant Adventurers” of London agreed to furnish the money for the enterprise on the following terms: the members were to labor without any days of rest except Sunday for a term of seven years, and the property and accumulations were to be equally divided, at the end of that time, between the company and the congregation.

they would be less troublesome in America than in Europe. The two vessels left Southampton but, the *Speedwell* proving unseaworthy, both ships turned back to Plymouth. The *Mayflower* thereupon took all who could be carried, one hundred and two people in all,¹ and sailed from Plymouth, September 6, 1620, bound for the Virginia coast. Thereafter the congregation called themselves Pilgrims.²

After nine weeks of heavy weather, the *Mayflower* sighted Cape Cod. This was much farther north than they had intended to land, and also beyond the northern limit of the Virginia grant. Several days were spent in attempting to pass the ship around the cape to the southward, but the strong head winds prevented. So a landing was made at the harbor now called Provincetown.

The Compact a Forerunner of Constitutional Government. — By this time, owing to the great suffering, there was much discord among the members of the congregation. Many were opposed to going farther. In this state of affairs, the counsels of Standish and others prevailed. They held a meeting in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and signed an agreement in which they declared two things which, years afterward, became important factors in American history. The two declarations were that —

They were loyal subjects of the king.

They themselves would make whatever laws were necessary for the welfare of the colony, all promising to obey these laws.

The latter declaration is regarded as the foundation of constitutional government. The colony declared itself a commonwealth and elected John Carver its governor.

The Beginning of New England.³ — The *Mayflower* remained at the Provincetown landing until Captain Standish, after several weeks of exploration, selected a harbor which John Smith had charted a few years before and had named Plymouth. Into this harbor the *Mayflower* sailed and landed her freight — the colony of Pilgrims that became one of

The land-
ing at
Plymouth

¹ Exactly one hundred, according to some authorities.

² See Hebrews xi. 13.

³ John Smith was the first to use the name New England in 1614, when he explored the coast from Penobscot Bay to Cape Cod.

the chief foundation stones of a great nation. Tradition has it that, one by one as the Pilgrims landed, they stepped first on a half-covered granite boulder and thence upon the low sandy shore. This landing was made December 21, 1620. During the cruel winter, against which few preparations could be made, just half the colony perished. Nevertheless, when the *Mayflower* started on her return voyage, not one of the survivors went with her.

The locality where the Pilgrims settled was within the domain of the Plymouth and not the London company. Therefore the contract made with the London company did not take effect.



From the painting by Bayes.

PILGRIMS WATCHING THE DEPARTURE OF THE MAYFLOWER FOR ENGLAND.

The colonists decided to purchase the land, and their proposition was accepted by the Plymouth company.

During the first year Governor Carver died, and William Bradford was chosen to fill his office. So wisely did Bradford administer affairs that he was continued in office about thirty years. In November the ship *Fortune* brought fifty more members of the Leyden congregation. On her return she carried beaver skins and cabinet woods to the value of five hundred pounds, to be used in payment of the debt of the colony, which was about seven thousand pounds. Unfortunately the cargo was captured by a French cruiser. The relations of

**Financial
matters**

the colony to the debtors in England were not pleasant, so the colonists themselves undertook to clear the debt, and in a few years paid the whole amount, principal and interest.¹ They found to their satisfaction that the fur trade and the fisheries yielded good profits, and that the few acres of land which had been cleared produced an abundance of foodstuffs. At first the land was cultivated in common, but this unwise plan was soon followed by the better one of allotting a tract to each family.

Early in the history of the colony Captain Standish made friends with Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoag Indians, and a short time afterward one of the colonists nursed the chief through an illness that nearly proved fatal. As a token of friendship Massasoit made a treaty with the colony which was kept for half a century. Canonicus, the chief of the warlike Narragansetts, however, sent his messenger to Plymouth with a bundle of arrows wrapped in a snake skin. This was a challenge to war. Governor Bradford well knew that any show of timidity would probably invite an attack; so the colonists stuffed the snake skin with powder and bullets and sent it back to Canonicus, signifying that if he wanted war they would give him enough of it. This reply was little better than a bluff, however, for the fifty men of the colony, even with their muskets, were no match for the two thousand Narragansett warriors. Nevertheless, it was effectual.

The Town Meeting. — One feature of no little importance came immediately into the life of the colony, namely, the town meeting. In this assembly all men met on equal terms and discussed public affairs and made the laws that governed the community. The town meeting was at once recognized in New England as a necessity imposed by the surroundings. Unlike the settlers in Virginia, the people of Plymouth were living in very close association; in Virginia the tobacco plantations were isolated and each was a little colony by itself. In the future of the American republic, the town meeting was to become a fundamental principle.

¹ They borrowed the money for the payment in London, paying interest at the rate of more than thirty per cent.

The Passing of the Colony. 1691. — Although most of the individual members of the Pilgrim congregation prospered, yet the colony as a whole did not. The organization was that of a business firm with practically no power to do business. Even when the colony was small, the difficulty was great; when the number had reached three thousand, it was well-nigh impossible to accomplish the legislation that was necessary for the raising and expenditure of money.¹

There was a more potent factor, namely, competition. When the Massachusetts Bay Colony was founded, it quickly outstripped its older sister at Plymouth. Its rapid growth was due to its geographic location. Plymouth Harbor had not the advantages of accessibility and commanding position that its more fortunate rival, Boston Bay, possessed. Few vessels cared to go to Plymouth when Boston was so much nearer. So in 1691, under a charter granted by William and Mary, the colony of Massachusetts Bay absorbed Plymouth, with several other colonies.

MASSACHUSETTS

Land Grants in New England. — In the twenty years following the settlement at Plymouth two factors in England were operating to strengthen the settlements in America. The attention of adventurous merchants was attracted to the fur trade and the fisheries; the persecution of the Puritans was carried on as vigorously by Charles I as it had been by his father, James I. The result was an extensive emigration to America. The king was bestowing charters and land grants; and he was sometimes careless about the provisions of the former and the boundaries of the latter. A number of trading posts had been established on or near the coast by different companies in consequence of the land grants,² and much trouble resulted in after years.

¹ The Plymouth colony had acquired territory at Cape Ann, an extensive possession on the Kennebec, and a trading post on the Connecticut, but it could not make the enterprises profitable.

² Among these were Noddles Island (now East Boston), made by Samuel Maverick; one near Cape Ann, established by John White and others; Shawmut

One of these land grants made to Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason (1622) embraced all the territory between the Kennebec and Merrimac rivers. Another grant, given (1628) to a stern Puritan, John Endicott, extended from a line three miles south



THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

of Charles River to one three miles north of the Merrimac. In each case the grants extended from ocean to ocean.

The Massachussetts Bay Company. 1629. — Endicott knew that a son of Ferdinando Gorges had obtained a grant of three hundred square miles within that of his own company, and that a settlement had been established upon it; he also realized that “possession is nine points of the

Peninsula (now Boston), settled by William Blackstone. A settlement on the present site of Quincy was characterized as a “*schoole of athisme*” by Governor Bradford, and Captain Standish was ordered to break it up, which he did. The chief cause of offense seems to have been that the settlers there celebrated May Day and that they used the Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church.

law." In 1628 he started for his newly acquired territory with a party of sixty Puritans. He dispossessed the settlers under the Gorges patent and established a new settlement, to which he gave the name of Salem, a Hebrew word meaning "peace."

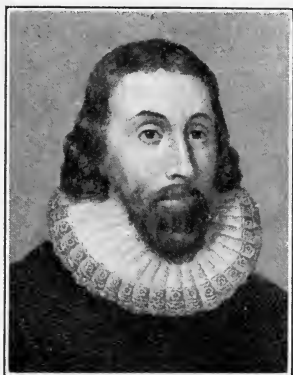
The English managers of the colony recognized the value of good business organization, and so, in 1629, a royal charter was obtained and the Massachusetts Bay Company was formed. Immediately afterward more than four hundred people, including clergymen, professional men, artisans, and servants, left England to make their homes in the new colony. Endicott was made governor. The colony was for Puritans only; there was to be no toleration of any other religious belief.

Although Charles I was a great stickler for the rights of a sovereign over his people, yet he gave the corporation a liberal charter. The colonists elected their own officers, including a council, or General Court, chosen for the purpose of making the laws. These provisions seemed very liberal, but it soon became apparent that under them there could exist a tyranny more powerful than had existed under either James or Charles. The charter

The Settlement of Boston. 1630.—The year 1630 was marked by a great emigration to America. In England persecution of the Puritans was carried on more severely than before. For the wealthier of this sect there was safety neither of person nor of property. The agents of the king would force them to loan money; if they refused to be robbed, they were pressed into the army or the navy, or else cast into prison. There was nothing for them but to get away from England. Moreover, business was poor in the various industries in England, and many thousands were out of work.

So when John Winthrop, a wealthy Puritan and a prominent member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, decided to go to America, there was no difficulty in finding plenty of people to go with him; and more than seven hundred persons with their horses, cattle, and household goods followed him there. They had intended to go to Salem, but they found Shawmut Peninsula more to their

liking, and settled there. The harbor was excellent; good farming land and growing timber were near by; the place could be



Gov. Winthrop

easily fortified in case of necessity. Indeed, a better location could not have been found north of New York Bay. The settlement at first was named Trimountain, but a year later it was changed to Boston, which was the name of the town in England whence many of the people had come.¹ Winthrop was made governor.

Within ten years, upward of twenty-five thousand had come to the territory of the Massachusetts Bay Company. They included

Immigration

clergymen and scholars of renown;

what was even better, the great majority were intelligent and thinking men and women who were not afraid of work. A few went to Salem, a larger number to Boston. Dorchester, Roxbury, Charlestown, Watertown, Cambridge, and other village settlements were established. The immigration did not fall off materially until the persecution of the Puritans had ceased in England, and this occurred, not because the king had grown more indulgent, but because of the beginning of the uprising that was to cost him his head. From that time until the corporation became a royal province, the growth of New England did not keep pace with that of the other colonies.

Social Features.—In the Massachusetts Bay colony every freeman and his family had the right to move wherever he pleased. He was thus free from a restriction which exists in

¹ The name Boston is a corruption of St. Botolphstow; Trimountain became "Tremont"; both names survive as names of streets of the present city. The Beacon Hill, near the place where the first settler Blackstone lived, gave the name to Beacon Street.

some parts of Europe to-day. A man was not permitted to beat or chastise his wife, and he was required to provide for his family under pain of severe punishment. For certain offenses he could be whipped or put into the pillory¹ by a sentence of the law.² A woman convicted of being a common scold might be publicly ducked; the offender was made secure in a chair called a ducking stool, which was lowered into the water. Sabbath breaking was punished by fine or imprisonment. It was enacted that "there shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage, or captivitie among us, unless it be lawfull captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willinglie selle themselves or are sold to us." This was a provision with rather wide loopholes; nevertheless, there was not much slavery in Massachusetts.

Public Schools Established. — Education was fostered from the very first. In 1635 a public school was established in Boston, and twelve years afterward provision was made for the instruction of all white children. In 1636 the General Court voted four hundred pounds,³ about one year's tax of the colony, for the founding of a college at Cambridge.⁴ A few years later John Harvard, a wealthy clergyman, left his library of several hundred volumes and a money bequest of seven hundred and fifty pounds to the college. It was the first college established in America, and the General Court named the institution after its generous donor.

The Rise of the Puritan Theocracy.⁵ — The dominant people in Massachusetts were the clergymen. In social standing they outranked the gentry. They were not only the spiritual but the political leaders as well. Their position was exalted, and they were not slow to recognize the fact. The commonwealth was for Puritans only. At first it was brought about by public sentiment that none but Puritans should vote or exercise authority.

¹ The offender was stood up in a public place with his head and arms stuck through the holes in a wooden frame which constituted the pillory.

² It is the law in Delaware to this day.

³ Now about the equivalent of ten thousand dollars.

⁴ Then called Newtown.

⁵ A theocracy is a form of government in which God is regarded as the supreme ruler of the state and the laws are based on the Bible.

Then it was enacted that none but church members in good standing should vote.

Willful absence from church services was punished by reprimand, fine, or imprisonment, the fine being five shillings (about \$1.20) for each absence. For a time the daily services at churches consumed the larger part of the day. This proved a great hardship, and so it was ordered that they should not begin until one o'clock. This was still burdensome, and they were cut down to two days a week, the services often continuing till long after dark.¹ The General Court then attempted to regulate the matter, but the ministers would not tolerate further interference.

The Persecution of Non-Puritans. — It was enacted that any one who reproached a minister, his sermon, or his doctrine should be reprimanded for the first offense and fined five pounds for the second.² In addition the culprit was to stand in the pillory and wear a placard reading "a wanton Gospeller," written in large letters. Baptists, Friends, and Catholics were punished by fine, imprisonment, flogging, banishment, or hanging.

Among the many people who were persecuted was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a noted teacher and lecturer of great power. She was bold enough to reproach the leading ministers with too much form and too little faith. In consequence she was banished. Roger Williams, who was also considered dangerous, was ordered to England, but he escaped to the Indians instead. Nearly a hundred colonists, mainly of the gentry, were fined or banished for too freely criticising clerical management; others were deprived of the right to vote. The fine often amounted prac-

¹ A service in London is thus described: "After Dr. Twisse had begun with a brief prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large for two hours, most divinely confessing the sins of the members of the assembly, in a wonderful, pathetic, and prudent way. After, Mr. Arrowsmith preached an hour, then a psalm; thereafter, Mr. Vines prayed near two hours, and Mr. Palmer preached an hour; after, Mr. Henderson brought them to a sweet confession of faults to be reminded, and the conveniency to preach against all sects, especially the Anabaptists and Antinomians. Dr. Twisse closed with prayer."

² For saying she "had as lief hear a cat mew, as Mr. Shepard preach," Ursula Cole was fined "five pounds or be whipped." She was very poor; the whipping was made a part of the sentence in order to insure payment of the fine. It was, of course, a heavy punishment.

tically to taking all the victim's property. Those banished were forced to go forth with their wives and children into a wilderness among savages.

The Witchcraft at Salem. 1691. — The belief in witchcraft is about as old as the human family, and wherever we read history we shall find the existence of human faith in an unseen, evil power. In the last half of the seventeenth century more than eight thousand men, women, and children were burnt at the stake in various parts of Europe, accused of the practice of witch-



AN OLD CHURCH AT HINGHAM, MASSACHUSETTS.

The oldest meeting house in present use in New England. Built in 1680.

craft, that is, of dealing with the devil.¹ There were several cases in Massachusetts as early as 1648, but the most serious outbreak occurred in Salem village in 1691. An ignorant negro woman in the family of Rev. Samuel Parris secretly practiced magic and incantations with some young women of the town. The experiences of these clandestine meetings wrought the girls to a high state of nervousness. When discovered, they went into hysterical fits and convulsions, and the physicians and ministers

¹ Within the twentieth century at least two charges of the practice of witchcraft have been made before justices' courts in the United States, testimony being taken in each case.

who were called to them pronounced them bewitched. The negro servant was at once accused of witchcraft; several other women of the village were suspected, and all were promptly lodged in jail.

The trials were little better than a farce. If the accused confessed to being witches, — and some did this either to save their lives or to avoid torture, — their punishment was not very severe. On the other hand, to deny it was almost certain to bring about conviction, and conviction meant almost equally certain death.¹ By the time nineteen had been put to death, public sentiment was raised to a white heat. Even the magistrates who had sent so many to the gallows were appalled. The feeling of revulsion and horror that had so long been growing reached its effect, and all those in jail under charges or conviction were set free. There were no more trials. Cotton Mather and his father, Increase Mather, two of the most prominent ministers of Boston, had opposed the high-handed way in which innocent people were sent to the gallows, yet both were believers in witchcraft.

The Fall of the Theocracy. — For some time Charles II had watched the proceedings of the colony with great displeasure, if not with alarm. In 1643, when the colonies formed the famous New England Confederacy,² they began to recognize their power and comparative independence, and they were not slow to take every possible advantage of it.

The clerical party, almost absolute in its power, had shown contempt for the Church of England and for the king's envoys as well. The General Court had omitted



A PINE TREE SHILLING.³

¹ Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, was accused of witchcraft, and about the same time charges were made also against Lady Phipps, wife of the governor, and Mrs. Hale, the saintly wife of the pastor at Beverly.

² See page 81.

³ A mint at Boston, in 1652, issued coins bearing the device of an American pine tree. The king was angry at this action, but was appeased by the assurance of one of his advisers that the tree represented the Royal Oak and symbolized the loyalty of Massachusetts.

the king's name from official documents, and had ignored the king's command granting jury trials to persons accused of capital offenses. Two of the judges who had sentenced Charles I to death had been protected in America. The merchants of Boston had openly evaded the navigation laws, and the authorities of the colony had coined money without right. In the colony itself religious intolerance had raised a host of enemies.

So, at the demand of influential people both in England and in Massachusetts, the charter was annulled in 1684, on the charge that royal powers had been usurped. The clerical party used every possible effort to prevent this action; the merchants, who saw an end to their evasion of the navigation laws, also opposed it. To the great mass of people, however, it was a decided relief, for it restored the right to vote to many who had been disfranchised.

The charter
annulled

Sir Edmund Andros, the first royal governor, was an arbitrary man, who brought his military notions into civil life. That he was tyrannical cannot be questioned, but it is not unlikely that a pretty firm hand was required to straighten things out. When James II was forced to leave the throne of England (1689), it did not take long for the people of New England to clap Andros into prison and take the government into their own hands. A few years later (1692), however, William III, the successor of King James, united Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine¹ into a single royal province, giving it a very liberal charter, although the king appointed the governor. Church membership was no longer a qualification for voting, and all denominations except the Catholics were tolerated. From the time the new charter went into operation until the War of the Revolution the colony prospered.

Governor
Andros

RHODE ISLAND

The Heresy of Roger Williams. — The harsh clerical rule in Massachusetts had one effect that was not intended; it was designed to strengthen Puritan power, but it really weakened it.

¹ Maine then included Nova Scotia.

Those who had the courage openly to resist the clerical rule were driven away. Those who opposed it secretly used their influence to bring the affairs of the colony into disrepute.

Among the former was a bright young clergyman, Roger Williams. Williams was an aggressive man much given to argument; at the same time he was kind and generous to a fault.¹ He was forced to leave England on account of his liberal religious views, and he settled in Plymouth; a year or two later he was called to a church in Salem, where his love for argument quickly



From the painting by Wray.

ROGER WILLIAMS BEFRIENDED BY THE NARRAGANSETTS.

got him into trouble. His first heresy was preaching that there should be a separation of the church from the government, that all laws requiring attendance at church should be repealed, and that all forms of religious worship should be allowed.

While the elders of Salem and Boston were still aghast at his revolutionary teachings, Williams wrote a pamphlet in which he claimed that the colonists had no right to the land held by the company unless they purchased it from the Indians. This, it was feared, might open a question already discussed in private, and there could be but one result to such imprudence—the General

¹ He had been a protégé of the celebrated English lawyer, Edward Coke.

Court ordered Williams to take passage on the first ship that sailed for England. Instead of doing this, however, he escaped and made his way to Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoag Indians. With these Indians he spent the winter.

The Founding of New Settlements. 1636–1638.—In the following spring Roger Williams was joined by several friends. They went to Narragansett Bay, where (1636) they established the settlement of Providence.¹ Williams had intended only to build a mission school and church for the conversion of the Indians; but so many joined him that in less than three years Providence had a considerable population. For several years it was a “do-as-you-please” settlement. It was quickly made known that no restrictions as to religious belief were to be imposed. Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile—each and all were welcome. A Baptist church, the first in America, was established there in 1639.

In 1638 William Coddington and Anne Hutchinson purchased the island of Aquidneck (Rhode Island), which the Dutch explorer Adrian Block had described as a “roodt eylandt” or red island, on account of the bright color reflected from its cliffs. Settlements were made on this island at Portsmouth and, shortly afterward, at Newport, where a better harbor was found.

A Model Democracy.—From the fact that these settlements were established by eccentric people, more or less trouble was to be expected. There were many settlers possessed of good judgment, however, and they were not slow to see that the business interests of the settlements were suffering for want of a stable government. Williams therefore went to England (1644) and procured a charter which united the settlements into a single province.

Rhode Island never became a royal province. When Andros was governor of New England, he tried to get the charter, but the people would not give it up, and Rhode Island remained a charter colony until it became one of the United States. It was the

¹ Their first abiding place was at the mouth of Seekonk River, a tributary of the Providence River; but this being on land covered by a prior grant, Governor Winthrop notified them that if they chose to establish themselves on the opposite side of the Providence River, they would not be molested.

smallest of the colonies, but it stood for the broadest principles of democracy. Its principle of religious liberty for all has become the law of the land;¹ the Constitution of the United States declares that religious tests shall not be required as a qualification to hold public office, and also that the Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or forbidding the free exercise of it.²

CONNECTICUT AND NEW HAVEN

The First Occupation of Connecticut. 1634.—The territory comprising the state of Connecticut, in spite of its rugged and timber-covered surface, was not an unknown region at the time when the first settlements were made there.³ It had been the home of the Mohegan Indians, who were slowly being crushed between the Pequots and the Mohawks. It was important from the fact that it was a sort of "buffer" territory between New Netherland and Massachusetts, being claimed by both. As early as 1634 William Holmes, one of the settlers of Plymouth, sailed up the Connecticut River. He found a Dutch fort at Hartford, so he built another at the present site of Windsor, and established there a fur-trading post. A small settlement resulted.

The Fort at Saybrook. 1635.—The doughty and rotund Governor Van Twiller of New Netherland sent a company to break up the settlement several months afterward, but the settlers refused to leave. In the meantime Lord Say-and-Sele and Lord Brooke had obtained a patent for the greater part of the land on both sides of Long Island Sound. On the west bank of the Connecticut they built a fort, which in after years became the village of Saybrook.

The Connecticut River Settlements and the Constitution. 1635–1639.—The emigration into Connecticut, however, was largely due to the teachings of Roger Williams. People in Massachu-

¹ Constitution of the United States, Article VI.

² *Ibid.*, Article I, Amendment I.

³ The region between the Connecticut and Hudson rivers even to-day is sparsely peopled in comparison with the territory surrounding it.

setts who believed that the right to vote and hold office should not be restricted to church members learned that it was better not to discuss the matter publicly; many of them, therefore, left the colony. A number of people from Dorchester, Massachusetts, went to Windsor in 1635; and another party built the village of Weathersfield in Connecticut. In the following year Pastor Hooker of Cambridge, Massachusetts, led more than one hundred of his church people to the present site of Hartford, walking overland through field and forest. The tide of emigration set in strong, and within a few months nearly one thousand people had come to the settlements on the Connecticut River. In 1639 the freemen of these settlements adopted a constitution for self-government.¹ This Hartford constitution, as it is called, prescribed a scheme of government and made no reference to king or Parliament.

The New Haven Theocracy. 1638–1665.—About this time Pastor John Davenport, a Puritan who had a large parish in London, incurred the hostility of the Established Church, and was forced to leave England. His parish contained many wealthy merchants, and a company of them went to America with him. Attracted by the good harbor, they formed a settlement (1638) at the present site of New Haven. Many others joined them, and the towns of Milford, Guilford, and Stamford were founded.



AN OLD STONE HOUSE AT GUILFORD, CONN.
Built in 1635.

The government was even more theocratic than that of Massachusetts. The laws of the Old Testament were made the govern-

¹ In this particular it was much more complete than the *Mayflower* compact.

ing code.¹ Even trial by jury was not at first permitted, because authority for it could not be found in the Bible. Each town was governed by a board of seven church officers, known as "pillars of the church." They were accusers, judges, and executors.

The Union of the Connecticut Colonies. 1665.—Although the New Haven colony had drawn the wrath of Charles II by shielding two of the judges ("regicides," they were called) who put his father to death, yet when a charter was asked for by the Connecticut settlers in 1665, the king readily granted it. It is thought that he did this in order to weaken the growing power of Massachusetts. At all events, he provided that the New Haven colony should be included in the charter, thereby putting an end to its independent, theocratic government. In disgust, Pastor Davenport returned to Boston, and a number of others from his colony went to New Jersey, where they founded the present city of Newark. James II tried to obtain possession of this charter (1687) through Governor Andros, but he failed.² Connecticut remained a self-governing colony until the Revolution, when it became an independent state.

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

New Hampshire.—The territory granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason, in 1622, originally extended from the Merrimac to the Kennebec River, but it was enlarged until it was made to comprise roughly about all the area of the present states of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Moreover, the grant covered a part of the territory given to the Plymouth company. Troubles regarding the

The land
grant

¹ It is to this colony that the alleged "Blue Laws" of Connecticut were attributed. Among them was one that forbade a mother to caress her child on Sunday. These laws had no existence; they were the hysterical fabrications of one Samuel Peters, a minister who found it advisable to leave New England and return to London. His writings savor much of the exaggerations in the adventures of Baron Munchausen.

² There is a story that just as the legislature was about to deliver the charter to Andros, the lights in the room were put out and the document was seized and hidden in the hollow of an oak tree. The tree stood at Charter Oak Place, Hartford. It was blown down in 1856, but its place is marked by a tablet.

boundary led Mason and Gorges to divide the grant. Captain Mason took the part west of the Piscataqua River, Gorges the portion to the east of the river. Mason's home was in county Hampshire, England, and for that reason he gave the name New Hampshire to his land.

The lawsuits over the ownership of the lands of the New Hampshire grant were carried on for more than three-score years, but finally the heirs of Mason gave up their claim in despair. It would not be quite true to assert that they had been robbed of their rights by trickery, but such was not far from the case. The real fault lay with the English sovereign, who had carelessly given inexact boundaries to his various land grants.

Mason's venture was chiefly a commercial one. He had discovered excellent fishing grounds off the coast, and he saw that the fur trade of the interior had great possibilities.

A settlement made at Dover in 1626 was the first to be permanent. Another was made on the "Strawberry Bank" of the Piscataqua in 1631, which was the beginning of Portsmouth. Some of the followers of Anne Hutchinson established the settlements which became Exeter and Hampton.

**First
settlements**

These settlements had a certain influence on the government of Massachusetts. The people were few in number and could not well protect themselves against hostile Indians, and in 1641 they sought to be united with Massachusetts. Many of the New Hampshire settlers were not of the same church as the Massachusetts Puritans, and they feared that, for this reason, they would have no political rights if united with Massachusetts. They would not consent to the union unless they should have the right to vote and hold office. The clergymen and strict Puritan leaders of Massachusetts did not at all like this idea, but they did not dare oppose it, because of the opposition that had grown up against them in England. Consequently the petition for the union of New Hampshire with Massachusetts was granted in 1641. This proved an important step in bringing about much greater political and social freedom than had existed in Massachusetts before the union. In 1679 the

**Union with
Massachu-
setts**

king made New Hampshire a separate royal province. Nine years later it was reunited to Massachusetts, but in 1691 it was again separated and became a royal province.

One of the chief events in the history of New Hampshire was the settlement of Londonderry. In 1719 more than one hundred Scotch-Irish Presbyterian families came from Londonderry, Ireland. They settled in various parts of New Hampshire, but most of them formed a settlement in the Merrimac Valley, which they named Londonderry.

**The linen
industry**



From an engraving of 1783.

LINEN MAKING — SPINNING, REELING, AND BOILING YARN.

They had been linen weavers in the old country, and they quickly began in America the practice of the art which, when cotton fiber took the place of linen, was to make the United States one of the world's centers of the textile industry.

In 1715 New Hampshire had a population of a little more than ten thousand people, of whom about two hundred were negro slaves. The fisheries, fur trade, and

**Growth of
the colony**

lumber products had reached a value of about thirty thousand pounds a year.

Maine. — As early as 1607 Sir George Popham attempted to establish a colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River, but the extreme cold of the New England winter, together with the mismanagement of business affairs, was more than the colonists could bear, and the settlement was abandoned. A settlement was made at Pemaquid Point in 1625; Saco was founded in 1630, and Biddeford two years later.

The boundary between Maine and Massachusetts was in dispute, and the latter claimed all the habitable parts of the territory in spite of the patent held by Gorges.¹ When finally King Charles II sought to purchase the claim from the heirs of Gorges in order to settle the trouble, Massachusetts secretly bought the title and rights to the territory for £1250. The transaction, although strictly legal, was a piece of sharp practice, and the king never forgave Massachusetts for it.

Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until after the War of the Revolution. It did not become a state until 1820.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY

Union of the New England Colonies. 1643. — Although the colonies of New England had much in common, there was no bond of union among them. They were isolated from the mother country, and no one of them had any adequate means of protection. A person who had offended the law of one colony might find perfect safety in another; of this there were many vexatious instances. A great deal of the trouble concerned runaway slaves, for there was no way by which a slave could be compelled to return to his owner if he could escape to another colony.

¹ According to the terms, the Massachusetts boundary lay three miles north of the Merrimac River. At that time it was thought that the line of the river extended about east and west, and so there was no dispute for several years. In its upper course, however, the line of the river is nearly north and south, and when this became known, the people of Massachusetts claimed all the territory as far north as the head of the river—an area extending to the White Mountains. Although this was not the intent, it was the strict letter of the grant.

There were also grave dangers from three sources. The Indians were becoming more troublesome than ever before; the French were acquiring territory on both the north and the west; and the Dutch were threatening on the south. As a result, the colonies did what colonies have done ever since such institutions existed: they agreed to form a confederation. Each colony preserved its independence, but they were united for purposes of offense or defense. Rhode Island and Maine were not permitted to join the confederation, because the former permitted freedom of worship and the latter observed the ritual of the Church of England. The New England confederacy was therefore restricted to Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut. It ceased to exist about 1684.

SUMMARY

Dissenters from the Church of England went to Holland, and eleven years later, in 1620, they sailed for America in the *Mayflower*, and formed the Plymouth colony.

They signed a written agreement by which to govern themselves. The town meeting was the assembly in which they made their laws.

Puritans driven from England founded the Massachusetts Bay colony and established a theocratic form of government. Only church members could vote and take part in the town meeting. Salem was founded in 1629 by John Endicott; Boston in 1630 by John Winthrop.

Public schools were established almost from the first.

The charter of the Massachusetts colonies was annulled by Charles II in 1684, on the charge of usurping royal powers.

Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine were united in a single royal province by the charter of 1692, which remained in force until the Revolution.

Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams, who was obliged to flee from Massachusetts because of his religious views. A settlement was founded in 1636 at Providence, which was open to all religious creeds.

Williams procured a charter in 1644. Rhode Island never became a royal province.

Connecticut was claimed by both the Dutch and the English. The English established military posts or forts at Windsor and at Saybrook.

Several settlements were formed in the Connecticut Valley, and a Puritan colony was founded at New Haven in 1638.

The Connecticut colonies were united by a charter given under Charles II. Connecticut did not become a royal province.

The territory of New Hampshire and Maine was granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason, who divided the land.

For a time the New Hampshire settlements were united to Massachusetts. New Hampshire became a royal province in 1679.

The authorities of Massachusetts bought the title to Maine from the heirs of Gorges, and it remained a part of Massachusetts until 1820.

A confederation of the New England colonies, Rhode Island and Maine excepted, was formed in 1643 for the purpose of defense.

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New France and New England—Fiske. Chapter VI.

History of the United States—Baneroft. Shipbuilding in Massachusetts, Vol. I, 280; town meetings, Vol. I, 285; slavery, Vol. I, 293; free schools, Vol. I, 315; navigation acts, Vol. I, 346. For life of Roger Williams consult table of contents, Vol. I.

The Emancipation of Massachusetts—Adams. The Scire Facias, Chapter V.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLONISTS AND THE INDIANS

The Indian and the White Man. — It is not strange that trouble should frequently occur between the Indians and the colonists.¹ Practically there was nothing in common between them. The New England colonist for many years was bent on converting the Indian to Christianity — even insisting on his learning the catechism; the Virginia planter was equally bent on forcing him to work in the tobacco fields. The Indian, for his part, had an ill-concealed contempt for the civilization of the white man. He cared nothing for his virtues, but he was an apt pupil in acquiring his vices.

The Acquisition of Land. — Foremost among the local troubles between the two was the acquisition of land by the colonists. When, for instance, Manhattan Island was purchased for the sum of twenty-four dollars, the transaction must be regarded

¹ The following are the main tribes with which the colonists came in contact, and their location:—

ALGONQUIANS

Delawares, Middle Colonies
Pequots, New England
Mohegans, New York and New England
Wampanoags, Massachusetts
Narragansetts, New England
Adirondacks, New York

SIOUAN

Catawbas	}	South
Tutelos		Atlantic
Woccons		Coast
Biloxis		

IROQUOANS

Oneidas	}	New York
Senecas		
Cayugas		
Onondagas		
Mohawks		
Tuscaroras, North Carolina		

MUSKHOGEANS

Seminoles	}	South
Creeks		Atlantic
Chocktaws		Coast
Chicasas		
Yamassees		

as questionable in spite of the fact that the Indians received blankets and articles that they needed. It is comparable with a case in which a sharper persuades a six-year-old boy to sell his new overcoat for a tin whistle. William Penn in Pennsylvania and Sir William Johnson in New York paid the Indians good, honest prices for the lands they obtained, and as



THE LOCATION OF THE EASTERN INDIAN TRIBES.

a result there was little or no trouble. The West India Company required the purchasers of its lands to settle also with the Indians; as a rule, however, the white man got the best of the bargain. In the New England colonies, too, the authorities became very strict about such purchases, and the courts would not permit a sale that gave to the Indian less than the proper value of his property.

In all the colonies, however, the Indians saw the ownership in their lands slipping away little by little, and they had nothing to show for the transaction. The lands bartered away were their hunting grounds, upon which they must depend for food, and without these lands they must be slowly crushed between Indian foes beyond the frontier, on the one side, and white foes, on the other. It is not surprising, therefore, that a feeling of resent-



From an old engraving.

AN ATTACK ON AN INDIAN PALISADED FORT.

ment should have grown into the Indian mind, nor is it surprising that this feeling gave place to one of intense hatred. It needed only an exciting cause to start the tribes on the war-path.

Why the Indians were allowed to buy Firearms. — It would seem foolish on the part of the colonists to supply the Indians with firearms; yet this is exactly what they did. Fur trading was a

most profitable employment, and all who could do so engaged in it either secretly or openly. But in getting pelts the white man was no match for the Indian. Inasmuch as the latter got far more pelts with the flintlock than with the bow and arrow, the fur-trading companies supplied their trappers and hunters with firearms and powder; and as the Indians to whom these weapons were given lived far from the settlements, the colonists made no great objection. Indians living near the settlements, however, were not permitted to have firearms; nevertheless, they usually managed to get possession of the weapons.

The Pequot War. 1637. — About the time when the settlements in Connecticut were becoming prosperous, the Pequot Indians began to resent the intrusion of the settlers. Years before that time the Pequots had been driven by the Mohawks across the Hudson River from the west. With the coming of so many white people they realized that they were about to be forced back again toward the Mohawk country. As a result, they began to harass the English settlers by burning their buildings and setting fire to the crops and the timber about the settlements. Soon they began to kill every white man whom they might ambush. There was scarcely a village that did not suffer, and finally the Connecticut people appealed to Massachusetts for aid.

Captain Mason gathered a company of about one hundred men, together with some friendly Indians. He advanced to the Pequot village near the site of Stonington, Connecticut (1637). The troops and allies reached the strongly palisaded village just before daybreak and lost no time in making the attack. The Pequots were not only surprised, but were panic-stricken. After several heavy volleys which killed many, Mason's men threw into the village lighted torches which set the wickiups afire. When the fight was over, out of the seven hundred Pequots five were alive.

Some wholesome lessons were learned from the Pequot uprising, not the least of which was a more intelligent understanding of the Indian character. The people of the New England colonies had labored hard to convert the Indian to Christianity, to teach him to read, and to persuade

Results of
the war

him to wear clothing of European fashion. The influence of the white man affected only the few Indians who lived about the towns, mainly the more shiftless and idle ones. The people were rudely awakened to the fact that underneath the coat of London cut there beat a heart that was thoroughly Indian. Moreover, they learned that the ability to repeat the catechism did not root out the desire for the scalping party.

After that there was an honest effort to give the Indians the full protection of the laws of the colony, and the law was equally prompt to punish him if he did not behave himself. Whenever



From the painting by Ertel.

JOHN ELIOT PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.

an Indian was to be tried for a grave crime, it became the custom to summon a number of Indians on the jury that tried him. Comparatively few Indians remained about the settlements. The seven or eight thousand Indians outside the vicinity of Massachusetts Bay — Narragansetts, Nipmucks, Wampanoags (or Pokanokets), and Mohegans — were left pretty much to themselves.

The Uprising of the Algonquians. 1643.— The policy of Governor Kieft in New Netherland was very exasperating to the Indians of the Middle colonies. He took no decisive measures to prevent the sale of liquor to them, but he punished without mercy or judgment any crime committed by a drunken Indian. He also attempted to tax the Indians for the protection which, he asserted,

the fort at New Amsterdam gave them. In 1643 a band of Mohawks came down the Hudson Valley, ostensibly collecting their usual tribute, but really killing about every Algonquian Indian in sight. In mortal terror, the Algonquian tribes sought the protection which they had the right to expect of Governor Kieft. Instead of protecting them, however, Kieft's soldiers fell upon them at night and massacred nearly one hundred and forty. It was an atrocious and treacherous act, and the immediate effects were most appalling. Nearly all of the Algonquian tribes in the vicinity immediately started on the warpath, killing the people of the small settlements for twenty miles around. Nothing but smoking ruins was left of a score of beautiful villages.¹

Fortunately at this time Captain John Underhill, a famous Indian fighter, came to New Netherland.² The Indians, in the meantime, had fortified themselves seven hundred strong in a palisaded village near where Stamford, Connecticut, now is. Underhill with one hundred and fifty men attacked the Indian stronghold at midnight, and at dawn there were eight warriors left alive. This decisive fight put an end to Indian warfare in the lower Hudson Valley.

King Philip's War. 1670-1675. — In the peace of nearly forty years that followed the Pequot War great prosperity came to New England. The population of twenty-five thousand (1645) had increased very materially, and the forty or more villages had more than doubled in number. In the fertile valleys of the western part were thriving towns and rich farms, and there was a considerable trade with the Indians. Of these a generation had grown up who could not remember the fate of the Pequots.

So long as Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, was alive, he was steadfast in his loyalty to the colonists. In return he

¹ There were English settlements at the present sites of Throggs Neck, Hackensack, Corlears Hook, and the Bowery. The latter, now a street with six railway tracks, was then a country lane leading to the farms of the thrifty Dutch settlers. All these settlements were destroyed. It was during this massacre that Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and most of her family were slain.

² Captain Underhill had taken part in the Pequot War.

both demanded and received just treatment from them. His sons, however, brooded over the loss of the tribal lands until they possessed a very unfriendly feeling for the white people. In 1662 the second son, best known as King Philip, became chief of the tribe. He was a cautious and wily leader, who saw clearly that he must take no risks; nevertheless, he shared an opinion which had become general among the Indians

of all tribes, that, unless they resisted the encroachment of the whites upon their lands, they were doomed.

The incentive for a general uprising came in 1670; almost simultaneously eight villages were destroyed and most of the captives were horribly tortured. Hostile war parties extended their atrocities in every direction. Troops were at once put into the field, but several detachments were attacked from ambush and massacred. A company sent to guard the farmers who were securing the grain stored at Deerfield were killed.

Deerfield was destroyed, and Springfield also was set upon and the greater part of it was burned.



Phillip alias metacoma
his *Pnunko*

METACOMA, "KING PHILIP," AND HIS MARK OR SIGNATURE.

By this time (1675) the Narragansetts had made up their minds to join Philip. Governor Winslow of Massachusetts, however, at once called out a thousand troops and started for the Narragansett fort near South Kingston. He used the same plan of attack that had succeeded in the Pequot War. The wickiups were fired by torches thrown among them, and a constant fire of musketry was kept up. When

**Destruction
of the
Indians**

the sun went down about a thousand Narragansetts had been slain. The few hundred who escaped were run to bay in small bands during the following spring and most of them were shot down.

The Nipmucks were still active, however, and in the spring of 1675 they attacked nearly every small village in eastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island. They were pursued day and night¹ until most of them were slain. Thus closed the most dreadful Indian war of colonial times. The three tribes—Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and Nipmucks—were well-nigh exterminated. The Mohegans were about the only Indians remaining in New England, and they were friendly to the colonists. Forty of the colonial villages had been damaged or destroyed, and one in twenty of the population had been killed by the Indians. After King Philip's War the Indian no longer played a part in New England history.

Uprisings in the Southern Colonies.—In the early years of Virginia (1622) the colony suffered from an Indian attack, in which about three hundred and fifty white settlers were killed. Again in 1644 there was an Indian uprising which cost the colony as many more lives. But from that time the Southern colonies were comparatively free from Indian troubles. In 1711, however, the Tuscaroras, an Iroquoian tribe, murdered about two hundred settlers living in the vicinity of New Berne, North Carolina. For this, a swift vengeance followed. Colonel John Barnwell gathered a force of white men and friendly Indians, marched nearly three hundred miles, fell upon the Tuscaroras, and killed about four hundred. Hardly was Barnwell out of sight when the Indians began their deadly work again. So (1713) Colonel James Moore gathered over one thousand men, attacked the palisaded fort of the tribe, and killed the greater part of its members. The remnant of the Tuscaroras then went to New York and joined the Iroquois Confederacy.

The
Tuscaroras

¹ They were not allowed to rest long enough to concentrate at any one point. This policy has been pursued in the Indian outbreaks of recent times, both by General Crooks and General Miles.

The Yamassees, a Muskogean tribe, had been the steadfast friends of the English of the Southern colonies. They were accustomed to make occasional raids into the Spanish colony of Florida, capturing whom they could and burning their prisoners alive. The English colonists did not object to these invasions, but it was their custom to give a ransom to the Indians for the lives of the unfortunate prisoners, and the latter were surrendered to the Spanish on payment of the ransom money.

In the early part of the eighteenth century the Spanish authorities began a systematic effort to incite the Yamassees to massacre the frontier settlers of the Southern colonies. They succeeded only too well. In 1715 the Yamassees, together with some of the Catawbias and Creeks, took the warpath and surprised one settlement after another all along the frontier. Nearly four hundred white people were killed. Charles Craven, governor of South Carolina, was equal to the occasion, and when his troops had finished the campaign there were but few hostile Indians left. The small remnant of the powerful Yamassees fled to Florida.

Pontiac's Conspiracy. 1763. — The last uprising of Indians during colonial times occurred just after the French and Indian War, the conquest by which the French were driven from North America. The defeat and expulsion of the French brought the Indians to realize the fact—as they had realized it immediately before King Philip's War—that the English were fast becoming their masters. As a result, there was a general uprising of the tribes all along the western frontier. The leadership fell to Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawas. In 1763 concerted attacks were made against most of the outposts which the English had wrested from the French. Some of these were captured, but were retaken. Detroit was besieged by Indians led by Pontiac, but they were finally defeated by Colonel Bradstreet. The uprising was quickly subdued.¹

¹ Pontiac retreated to an Indian village in Illinois, opposite St. Louis, Missouri, where he shortly afterward died.

SUMMARY

Most of the Indian wars resulted from the encroachment of the white people on Indian lands. As settlements increased, the Indians of the frontier were driven westward into contact with other tribes who were their enemies. Outbreaks, therefore, were inevitable.

The Algonquian uprising occurred in New Netherland; the Pequot and King Philip's wars in New England. The warring tribes were nearly exterminated.

The uprisings of the Tuscaroras and the Yamassees occurred in the Southern colonies.

Pontiac's conspiracy, in 1763, was the last general Indian war.

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CHAPTER VII

A CENTURY OF COLONIAL LIFE

A Survey of the Field. — At the time of the formation of the New England confederacy (1643), New York was still a Dutch settlement bearing the name of New Netherland. Virginia, Maryland, New Netherland, and the New England colonies were the chief centers of population. The period of the next hundred years was marked by a rapid increase of population, the conquest of the Dutch colonies by the English, and the settlement of Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Georgia. It is interesting to study the conditions of life in the colonies at this period.

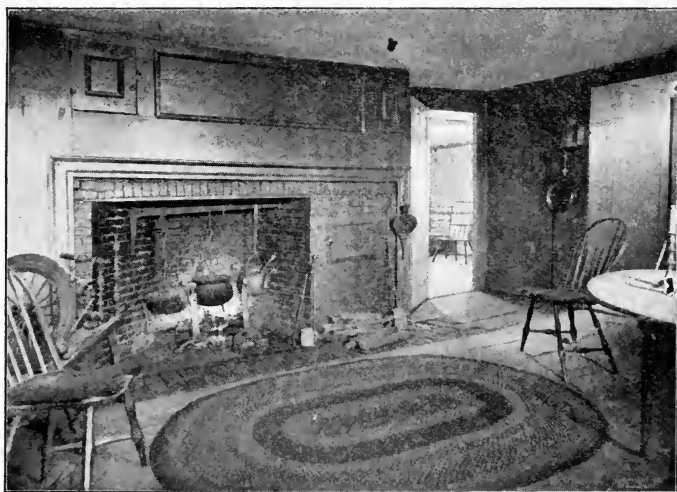
Conditions of Social Life. — The social and political features of life in Virginia were much the same as those of England. The rich plantation owner with his numerous servants and laborers resembled in some respects the great lords with their dependents. For the cultivation of tobacco, the plan of organization was undoubtedly the best that could be followed. It was not the sort of organization out of which a true democracy could grow, yet as a business affair the Virginia plan was eminently successful. The effects of this plan of government are apparent even to-day.

Like Virginia, the New England colonies were thoroughly English; probably less than one man in a hundred came from other countries. The social life of the New England colonists was very little different from that of the middle class in England, and it so remains to this day. The political organization, however, was vastly different; for, while the Virginians followed the English plan of government in many respects, the people of New

England broke away from it altogether. Almost from the first their government was a democracy.

As has been noted, the geographic surroundings were mainly responsible for the differing political organizations, but the social position of the people also had its effect. In Virginia the landowners and the clergy ranked with the nobility and were people of title and distinction. Many of them had found life in England intolerable after the execution of Charles I and the usurpation of Cromwell, and they were

Social
distinctions



A NEW ENGLAND KITCHEN.

glad to make their home in America. They were the ruling class in England; it is not a matter of surprise that they were the governing class of Virginia.

In New England the Pilgrims and Puritans—the clergy excepted—belonged to the middle class of England. They were thrifty and intelligent, and consisted mainly of tradesmen, manufacturers, and well-to-do people. There were a few families who ranked among the gentry, that is, they were owners of estates and lands in England, but they bore no titles except that of

"esquire," and they were not of noble lineage as were most of the Cavaliers of the South.¹

Between the various classes there was very little social intercourse. The wealthy planter of Virginia or the patroon of New York was socially considered a superior person to the tradesman or the farmer; the tradesman and the farmer, too, were a class that looked down upon the wage laborer. Even in New England the clergy and the gentry were always treated with a distinction that was not accorded to the common people.²

There were fewer redemptioners and slaves in the New England colonies than in the South and the Middle colonies, mainly because there were no large plantations. On the rugged
Servants New England plateau the farms were necessarily small; and the family of the farmer, reinforced by a single "hired man," furnished all the help required. In New York the patroon leased his manor to tenants who, in fact, were but little better than indentured servants, and usually these were not many in number. The Virginia planter, on the contrary, might require more than one hundred workmen on his plantation; hence the great majority of indentured servants and slaves were in the South.

The distribution of wealth was an important feature in social life. Virginia was the wealthiest of all the colonies, but the
Wealth wealth was possessed by a few people. There was a fairly well-to-do middle class of tradesmen and small farmers, but the great bulk of the population, consisting of wage laborers and redemptioners, was poor. In New York, likewise, the distribution of wealth was uneven. The patroons and the merchants, for the greater part, were well-to-do or rich; the tenants and wage earners were not.

In the New England colonies the wealth was much more evenly

¹ Inasmuch as the Church and the State for a time were officially under one control, the clergy held an official as well as a spiritual leadership. In New England, when grave questions were considered, the clergy were very frequently consulted and their judgment was apt to be final.

² In practically all the colonies there was a class that might be termed "shoddy" in character. This was due very largely to illicit fur trading, to trading with the pirate ships that were accustomed to visit certain points, and to a kind of trade with the Indians that would not bear a very close scrutiny.

distributed. There were few rich people; on the other hand, there were few who were very poor. The rigorous climate forced them to be industrious; the shiftless returned to England and the weaklings died. It was a survival of the strongest physically, it was a survival of the fittest intellectually, for the stern conditions under which the people lived developed the thoughtfulness and skill necessary to overcome obstacles. Social lines were more quickly broken down in New England than elsewhere, partly because of the town meeting and partly because there were comparatively few people of great wealth.

Occupations and Business Enterprises.—In the Southern colonies, as has been noted, the cultivation of the tobacco plant was the chief industry. The tobacco plantations were generally near the rivers. The smallest was many times the size of a New England farm; the largest was several square miles in extent. Not all the land was fit for tobacco planting. The plantations were apt to be far apart, and each was a little center of population by itself. As a result of these conditions, there were practically no cities and towns of any importance in the South until the colonies were more than half a century old.¹

Tobacco
plantations



ROLLING TOBACCO TO THE WHARF.

The people of the Southern colonies built few roads, and even the few roads which they built were not very good. They saw no need for good roads. There were many navigable streams leading to the ocean, and along these the plantations were established. The tobacco was packed in hogsheads, which were rolled along to the nearest ship landing by horse power.² As

¹ Various colonial legislatures tried to create towns and seaports by making laws creating them, and one may still find on a map of Virginia such names as Charles City and James City, where towns never existed. No towns came into existence in Virginia until years afterward. Nowadays people understand that cities and towns are the result of commerce and not of statutory law.

² To each head of the hogshead a trunnion was fastened, to which a wagon tongue, or a pair of shafts, could be attached.

the population increased and plantations were extended inland, it became more difficult to ship the tobacco. In many instances it cost almost as much, if not more, to get the tobacco from the plantation to the wharf as from the latter to the London market. With the profit of the tobacco crop which the planter sold to English merchants, he not only paid for the clothing, household supplies, and metal wares used, but he also had enough left to make him rich in a few years. Practically nothing was manufactured in the Southern colonies; even much of the lumber used in buildings was made from logs sent to England and there sawed into boards to be sent back to Virginia.



A COLONIAL HOUSE AT GERMANTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA.

South Carolina was the only Southern colony in which tobacco was not a staple crop; in that colony rice was the chief article of export. The general conditions, however, were like those of Virginia.

New York was the only colony that was not essentially English. The Dutch colonists were not allowed to trade in furs and pelts, as that privilege was reserved for the West India Company. They were not allowed to manufacture anything that could be procured in Holland; even the bricks for their buildings were imported. They were compelled

Trade in
New York

to trade with the mother country, and the West India Company managed to secure most of the profits of the trade. After the English occupation many of the trade restrictions were practically removed. A brisk trade in furs, lumber, flour, and other food stuff grew up.

When English immigrants had established themselves in New Jersey, and colonies of Friends, Scotch-Irish, and Germans had pretty well covered the river valleys of Pennsylvania, farming became the chief industry of the Middle colonies. The land was rich and the crops were bountiful. The farms were the best in the world. The exports of flour, provisions, and lumber made the people of these thrifty communities nearly as wealthy as the tobacco planters of the South. Most of the trade centered at Philadelphia, which for many years was the foremost city of the country. There were a few iron smelteries and paper mills, although in the main manufacturing was forbidden.

**Farming in
the Middle
colonies**

The people of the New England colonies grew most of the food stuff they consumed, but it was very hard work. The rock-strewn surface and gravelly soil were ill adapted to farming. There was no staple crop such as tobacco, rice, or wheat; about all that they could depend on were the scanty crops of maize, beans, and garden vegetables. The chief produce came from the sea. The cod fisheries off the Newfoundland coast and the mackerel fisheries all along the coast proved a great source of wealth. They also created a race of sailors that had no superior. Shipbuilding became an important industry, and the sails of the Yankee clipper-ship, with her raking masts and sharp cutwater, were to be seen in nearly every foreign port under the sun. These were much superior to the European vessels, and cost about three fourths as much. They were, therefore, considerably in demand by European shippers. It was no uncommon thing for a captain, on reaching the West Indies, to sell ship and cargo outright at a single transaction.

**New
England:
farming,
fisheries,
and ship-
building**

The uplands, when cleared of timber, made good pasturage. Between the fisheries and the grazing, the New England people

supplied nearly all the West Indies with salted beef, codfish, salmon, and mackerel; they even furnished the greater number of horses and oxen used in those islands. This trade was the beginning of American commerce.¹ The imports to the New England colonies were mainly cotton goods and raw wool from England, and sugar, molasses, and logwood from the West Indies. The net profits of the voyage were brought back usually in Spanish coin, which was quite as common at times as English money. The logwood was used in dyeing the cotton and wool fiber; the wool was made into cloth in the looms which were found in every household.

The Navigation Laws.—From the time that the commerce of the colonies began to be profitable, the English Parliament assumed the right to gain by it. At first (1651) the navigation laws required that merchandise to and from the colonies should be carried in English vessels; later (1660) it was ordered that all colonial products be sold in ports belonging to England. Next (1663) all goods imported to the colonies must be bought in England if English merchants could furnish them. The Parliament even (1673) forbade New England vessels from carrying any imports, and levied a tariff² on all goods shipped from one colony to another. Within a few years the laws were made still more oppressive; the colonists were forbidden to manufacture such articles as would compete with English-made goods, to manufacture for themselves anything which was made in England, or to sell in foreign markets anything which English buyers might take.

As a matter of fact, these laws were not rigidly enforced until the accession of George III (1760), and the government probably did not intend that they should be.

¹ One product of the New England colonies was unique, namely, barrel staves; probably more than half the world's supply was made in the vicinity of the New England ports. By far the greater part of these staves went to the West Indies and were used for the barrels and hogsheads in which sugar, molasses, and rum were shipped. The rum casks made by the New England cooper were the finest in existence. The traffic in staves extended to Europe, and considerable quantities were shipped to Spain and Portugal.

² That is, a payment of money was exacted by the government on all goods shipped.

The laws were enforced just often enough to create vexation ; they were neglected just enough to breed contempt for them.

Perhaps Virginia and the Southern colonies suffered more than the others when the restrictions imposed by the Parliament were enforced, inasmuch as the planters were compelled to sell their crops to English merchants, who fixed the price of the tobacco to suit themselves. The tobacco growers, having no surplus money to spend, could not buy anything, and this condition was quickly felt in England ; the shopkeepers and farmers could not sell to customers who had no money. As a way of getting income from the colonies, the trade restrictions were a failure.

The results

It is often thought that England imposed unnecessarily harsh commercial relations upon her American colonies, but this is hardly true. Until George III became king, she was far more lenient than were other European states in the treatment of their dependencies. The Dutch settlers of New Netherland were very glad to exchange Dutch for English rule, because of the greater commercial freedom they were to enjoy. Except in the matter of trade regulations, the colonies were generally left to themselves until they became royal provinces, and even then they were not more strictly governed than were the people in the mother country. As a rule, nearly every reasonable request was granted.

Forms of Colonial Government.—There were three forms of government in the colonies. To the founders of some of the earlier colonies charters were given, either by the Crown or by a mercantile company acting under the permission of the Crown.¹ These were the charter colonies. In other cases, such as Pennsylvania, the patent or title to the lands was given to an individual. These were the proprietary colonies. In other cases, the governing power of the colony was directly in the hands of the king. These were called royal provinces. In time seven of the colonies

Charter, proprietary, and royal colonies

¹ Virginia was settled by a mercantile company having a charter from the Crown. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven were all charter colonies in the early days.

became royal provinces. Connecticut and Rhode Island refused to surrender the charters which they had received; Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were governed under patents issued to individuals, and not even the king could annul the title. The other colonies — Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia — became royal provinces. Of these, Massachusetts forfeited her charter, and the royal governor practically abolished the General Court. A new charter was obtained in 1692, which restored some of the privileges that the people had enjoyed.

Of all the royal governors, Sir Edmund Andros stands out as the most interesting character. That he was despotic and arbitrary there is no doubt. In New York he succeeded Governor Dongan, a most excellent chief magistrate, who was every inch a statesman. He deposed Philip

Governor
Andros



GOVERNOR ANDROS.

Carteret, governor of New Jersey, and seized the government of that colony. When the New England colonies were under his rule, about the first of his acts was to take forcible possession of Old South Meeting House in Boston, turn the Puritans out, and use it as an Episcopal church. The opposition of the New England people whetted his appetite for a very strict government, and he was not slow to impose it. So far as trade was concerned, in spite of his enforcement of the oppressive regulations, there was great prosperity. Andros was finally ordered to England to be tried for misconduct, but was acquitted without trial. Shortly afterward he was appointed governor of Virginia, and to the surprise of all he proved a very popular magistrate. His despotic ways were due to his military

training, and his unpopularity arose largely from his lack of tact. In every respect he was an honest watchdog, serving most faithfully his royal master.¹

The Beginning of Legislative Assemblies.—The machinery of government in the various colonies did not differ much in form or in practice. In Massachusetts the governor, his deputy, and the board of assistants were elected by a general court composed of the stockholders of the company. The charter itself was a permit granted by the English government.² The board of assistants was supposed to be the real working machinery, and all went well until it attempted to levy a tax on the various settlements for building a small fort or blockhouse at Newtown. Then there was a protest that English subjects could not be taxed without their consent.

The representation of the people

But there was no legislative assembly of the people to grant the levy; in order to meet the difficulty, it was agreed to create a general court consisting of two deputies from each settlement to advise with the board of assistants. At first the deputies met with the board, but in 1644 there was a falling out between the two bodies,³ and thereafter they formed two distinct branches.

Thus was established in America the legislative body composed of two houses. The Virginia assembly, established in 1619, consisted of only one house. By the time of the Revolution all of the colonies had adopted the Massachusetts plan of legislative organization, and this system was continued by every state as well as by the national government of the United States.

The two houses

The other New England colonies had representative assemblies. In New York, during Dutch rule, the necessity of a popular assembly to assist the council of the West India Company

¹ Lady Andros was as much beloved as her husband was hated, and at the time of her death was sincerely mourned in New England. She was buried in King's Chapel, Boston.

² When this charter was granted in 1629, Charles I was trying to govern his kingdom without the aid of Parliament, and so he himself gave the charter.

³ The misunderstanding came about through a lawsuit over Mistress Sherman's pig. It produced a breach between the two houses, and each thereafter had a veto power over the other.

became apparent. Both Kieft and Stuyvesant allowed the people to elect such an assembly, but each governor managed to have the assembly composed of men who were under his control.¹ After New York became an English possession, Governor Dongan, a very wise ruler, obtained a charter for the colony which proved to be a good constitution. This charter provided a legislative assembly to be elected by the people. In Pennsylvania, from the first, there was an assembly to represent the people; this assembly, with the governor appointed by the proprietor, made the laws.

Maryland, as has been noted, was practically a palatinate or little monarchy, under Lord Baltimore, who was an unusually broad and humane man. Yet the popular assembly was early regarded as the real law-making and governing body. In Virginia the House of Burgesses made the laws, which, after having been approved by the governor, must also receive the approval of the king. In fact, the king reserved to himself the right to cancel all laws passed by the assemblies in the royal provinces.

Subordinate Officers. — In the main, the subordinate offices and officers of the colonies were about the same as in the mother country. There were courts of justice, courts of record, judges, sheriffs, clerks, constables, and the like, and their duties have not changed materially in two centuries. There were tithing-men, who originally collected one tenth of each man's income for the benefit of the church, or perhaps for the king. The "tidy-man" of New England stood guard over the church congregation, thwacking with his long rod the thick skull of any unfortunate who should presume to find a three-hour sermon dry enough to put him to sleep. There were also town-criers, who kept the people in touch with any startling news. All these were the heritage from the mother country, and when no longer necessary they were discarded.

Popular Government. — The rapid spread of the desire for popular government in the colonies was not due so much to any superiority which the colonists might possess as compared with

¹ Governor Stuyvesant once exclaimed to an obstinate councilman: "If any one during my administration shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter and send the pieces back to Holland."

the people of the mother country ; it was due chiefly to their new geographical surroundings. The conservative lawmakers of England could not know what the colonists needed. But the colonists themselves knew well what laws were best suited to their environment, and proceeded to get them by means of their own assemblies. Had the Established Church party emigrated to America, instead of the Puritans and the Friends, the result would have been the same. It was merely a case of the man adjusting himself to changed environment, — and that is the chief reason why “ Liberty was in the air.”

SUMMARY

The political and social features of the colonies were essentially the same as those of the home country, but were somewhat modified by new surroundings.

The lines between the aristocracy and the commoners in the colonies were strongly drawn. In Virginia the aristocracy consisted of the wealthy tobacco planters, in New York they were the patroons, and in New England the clergymen, the colonial officers, and a few gentry.

In the Southern colonies the chief industry was tobacco planting ; in New York the fur trade and commerce were the chief employments, and in New England fishing, shipbuilding, and ocean commerce.

The navigation laws prohibited the colonists from trading with any country except England, and had the effect of lowering the prices of commodities for export. When enforced, these laws crippled the trade of the colonies.

There were three forms of colonial government : charter, proprietary, and royal. All the colonies except Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland became royal provinces. The last three named were owned by individual proprietors.

Elective legislative assemblies were created in all the leading colonies, and out of these grew the double-assembly system in the states and the United States.

COLLATERAL READING

Old Virginia and Her Neighbors — Fiske. Chapters X, XII.

Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America — Fiske. Chapters XV, XVI.

History of the United States — Bancroft. Vol. I, Chapter XIV.

The Beginnings of New England — Fiske. Chapter III.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POSSESSION OF THE CONTINENT

FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

Early French Explorations. — The French did not take any considerable part in the early exploration of the American continent.

Cartier Only one of the earlier expeditions under the direction of the French king was fruitful. In 1534–1535 Jacques Cartier coasted about the island of Newfoundland and discovered the river which he named St. Lawrence. His party ascended the river to an island that was the site of a large Indian village. To the lofty boss of volcanic rock that afforded a most delightful view, he gave the name of Montreal, meaning royal mountain.

Possibly the fact that the undiscovered lands of the earth had been divided between Spain and Portugal may have prevented the French from taking part in the earlier voyages of discovery;¹ certain it is that they did not become active until more than seventy years after Cartier's voyage. Just about the time (1608)

Champlain that Henry Hudson explored New York Bay, Samuel Champlain, a young Frenchman, descended from an excellent Huguenot family, established a permanent settlement at a locality that he had visited four or five years before. The promontory that overlooks the narrow stretch of the St. Lawrence commended itself to him as the best place for a trading post and

¹ King Francis I demanded "the clause in the will of Father Adam which divides the earth between the Spanish and the Portuguese to the exclusion of the French." Cartier's expedition was probably a perfunctory act designed to establish a precedent.

fort, and he named it Quebec, an Algonquian word meaning "the narrows." The next year he went farther inland and discovered the lake which was named in his honor.

The business of fur trading proved a paying industry, and in order to put it on a better basis, Champlain made a treaty with the Algonquian Indians. This affair shortly afterward drew him into a battle with the Mohawks, near Ticonderoga. He defeated these Indians, but in doing so brought upon himself the eternal hatred of the Iroquoian tribes; as a result, the French were not able to establish trading posts in central New York.

The Settlement of New France. — In the course of time various small settlements were made by the French, mainly within the area now including Nova Scotia and a part of New Brunswick and Maine. Perhaps the most important of these settlements was Port Royal, now Annapolis. This area, settled largely by fishermen, pastoral people, and fur traders, was named Acadia.¹ The region of the Great Lakes was penetrated by hardy French explorers who established small blockhouses, forts, and trading posts all along the entire basin. This region, along with Acadia, was a French Crown possession, and was known as New France.

The Exploration of the Mississippi. 1672-1682. — From the Indians it was learned that a great river lay to the westward of Mackinac, a trading post where now is a town of the same name. In May, 1673, Louis Joliet and Father Marquette, a Jesuit missionary,² with a small party in two canoes, crossed Lake Michigan to Green Bay,³ and then dragged their canoes across the portages and divides that separate Green Bay from the Mississippi. In June they reached the river and descended it as far south as the mouth of the

Joliet and
Marquette

¹ An Algonquian word, Aquoddy, meaning "a place."

² The Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, was an order composed of priests. The order, organized for the purpose of spreading the Christian faith throughout all heathen lands, contained men selected with great care and splendidly trained for their work. No men were ever more zealous in their work, and there was no part of the world they did not reach. Thousands died from the hardships endured, but there were a score ready to take the place of each one.

³ This arm of Lake Michigan was noted by Jean Nicolle, who reached the source of the Mississippi about 1634-1635.

Arkansas River, not far from the place of De Soto's death. From that point they paddled and dragged their canoes back to the Great Lakes.

A few years later (1679) Robert de la Salle was ordered to complete the work of Joliet and Marquette, for the French king



FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND FORTS.

saw a wonderful future in the broad prairies of the Mississippi.

La Salle Near Buffalo La Salle built a small vessel, the *Griffin*, which carried the men and supplies to the mouth of the St. Joseph River, where they built a fort that afterward became the town of St. Joseph, in Michigan. From

this point they proceeded by stream and portage in canoes to the present site of Kankakee, Illinois, and thence to the place where Peoria now stands, building blockhouse forts at each place. It became necessary to go back to Canada for supplies, and a year was thus lost.

In 1682 La Salle reached the present site of Chicago, again embarked on the Illinois River, and descended it to the Mississippi. In two months more he had reached the Gulf of Louisiana Mexico, and there he erected a wooden cross on which was fastened a shield emblazoned with the coat of arms of France. La Salle thereby claimed for France all the lands drained by the Mississippi River — a region six times as large as the whole of France. He named it Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV, at that time king.

The Building of French Forts. — In order to hold the territory thus acquired, it was necessary not only to build many forts along the Mississippi and its eastern tributaries, but also to establish a settlement at its mouth which should be strong enough to keep out the Spaniards, who had a number of outposts along the shores of the Gulf. The French already held the St. Lawrence Valley and



ROBERT DE LA SALLE.

the basin of the Great Lakes, a territory that they named New France; with a fort and settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, they could control the whole central plain through which the river flowed.¹

The carrying out of these plans was slow work; nevertheless, in the course of fifty years a chain of forts was established extending up the St. Lawrence River, along the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi River to the Gulf. Some forts were

¹ The first settlement made in the Louisiana region by white men was at Biloxi, just east of the mouths of the Mississippi, where Iberville, a French Canadian, established a company in 1699. New Orleans was founded in 1718.

intended to guard places of easy approach; others were to protect trading posts; still others were intended for defense against the



A BLOCKHOUSE.

Indians. Many of them were blockhouses, surrounded each by a palisade.¹ In almost every instance a trading post was established at the fort, a village grew up about the trading post, and the village finally became a city. Chicago, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, and a number of smaller places had such a beginning. Every-

thing looked toward the establishing of a great French empire in the New World.²

Thus was created the French possession named Louisiana. The French king must have known that his title to the country was not the very best, for it overlapped the Spanish claims in what is now Texas, and trespassed in several places on territory occupied by the English. Moreover, England claimed the whole continent. The region including the present states of Mississippi and Louisiana, however, was held by the French by actual settlement.

The Indifference of the English to the Mississippi Region. — In the meantime the English had done nothing toward exploring the region west of the Appalachian Mountains. In part this apparent neglect was owing to the fact that they did not then care to arouse the hostility of the Iroquoian tribes, but mainly it was because they felt secure in their right to the western country. By their charters the territory of several colonies extended from ocean to ocean. They felt all the more secure because there was but little

¹ The palisade usually consisted of a mud wall surmounted by a row of heavy stakes, the whole being ten or twelve feet in height. When faced with a row of pointed stakes pointing outward, it was a stockade.

² In order that the occupation might be in due form, the commander-in-chief of New France directed (1743) Celoron de Bienville to bury leaden tablets on which was engraved the claim of King Louis XV to the Ohio and the Allegheny valleys.





immigration to the great Louisiana country—almost all of it was confined to New Orleans, Mobile, and the few forts near the Gulf coast.

WARS BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH

The Colonies become involved in European Wars.—During the sixty years previous to the real struggle over their possessions in America, England and France were at war on several occasions, and each time their respective colonies in America were drawn into the struggle. Nothing of importance to the colonies was settled by these wars.

As a result of the revolution that drove James II from the English throne, war was declared between France and England. Count Frontenac, who conducted the French campaign in America, planned to send a strong force down the Hudson Valley, but the fact that the Mohawk Indians had just attacked Montreal, compelled him to change his plans. Instead (1690), scalping parties were sent out at different times. One of these descended on Schenectady, New York, and massacred ninety people; another destroyed Salmon Falls, Massachusetts; another devastated the region along the Maine coast where Portland now stands. A few years later Haverhill, Massachusetts, was attacked and many of the people were killed. In the meantime, the New England colonies sent out a fleet which captured Port Royal, the French stronghold near the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia. This war ceased (1697) when the mother countries each restored conquered territories and declared a temporary peace.

King
William's
War.
1689-1697

A few years later (1702) the war was renewed. The Indians were turned loose, and resumed the occupation of burning and killing. The New England colonists again captured Port Royal, but were defeated in an attempt to take Quebec. Another temporary peace was declared. There was a distinct gain for the English colonists, for they kept Port Royal, which they renamed Annapolis; they also gained Acadia (now Nova Scotia), Hudson Bay Territory, and Newfoundland.

Queen
Anne's
War.
1702-1713

Twenty-eight years later, in the reign of George II, hostilities between England and France were resumed. In the meantime, the French had accomplished much in strengthening themselves in New France and Louisiana. They built the most substantial fort in the New World at Louis-
King George's War. 1741-1748 burg, on Cape Breton Island. It guarded the entrance to the St. Lawrence River, and therefore to New France. Nevertheless, Colonel Pepperell with a few thousand militia, together with



THE GATEWAY TO THE ST. LAWRENCE.

the British fleet, captured it. There was not much hard fighting; the French were frightened out. The result was twofold. This capture of Louisburg put an end to the work of French pirates who had been plundering the New England fishing fleets,

and it gave the colonial troops confidence in themselves. Very foolishly the English gave Louisburg back to the French at the close of the war.

The Beginning of the Struggle for a Continent. — By this time it had become apparent to both England and France that one or the other must quit the continent of North America — there was no longer room for the two nations upon it. Neither England nor her colonies seemed to appreciate how strong the French had become, but the latter knew how weak the English were. It is true that there were about fifteen English colonists to every Frenchman, but the French had practically every advantage of position, and they were not slow to perceive this.

Years before this time efforts were put forth to induce young men to go to New France and Louisiana, and many had gone there; but the king would not permit them to be landowners, and instead of making farms and growing food crops, most of them drifted into a vagabond life, living with the Indians and trading in furs.¹ In later years the government had given much more attention to forts than to farms, and the line of forts down

¹ They became known by the name of *coureurs de bois* (rangers of the forest).

the Mississippi and its tributaries had increased to about sixty in number. Although the French nominally held the basin of the Great Lakes, they kept away from the south shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario for a very good reason,—they did not care to have more trouble with the Iroquoian tribes who claimed this region.

The Appalachian ranges separated the French and the English, and inasmuch as these mountains produced nothing that either side cared for, they formed an excellent “buffer” territory between the two. In these ranges, however, were three important gateways between the English and the Mississippi Valley. The chief of these was the Mohawk River gap. As this was held by the Iroquoians, the French had not attempted to interfere there; however, they built a fort at Kingston, opposite the present site of Oswego, New York. The next in importance as a gateway was the valley of Lake Champlain. There was clear sailing over the lake from head to foot, and the trails along the lake from the Hudson to the St. Lawrence were level enough for a wagon road. At Crown Point, a peninsula that cuts the lake almost in two, the French built a fort. On Ticonderoga, a tableland that commands a narrow view of the lake, they built another.

There was still another pass across the mountains, namely, the gap along the Potomac at Cumberland and across the divide to the Ohio.¹ It had become an important route from Virginia to the Ohio River, and the French were not slow to see the value of it. They also established Fort le Bœuf in the valley of French Creek, a few miles south of Lake Erie.

Gateways
through the
Appala-
chians

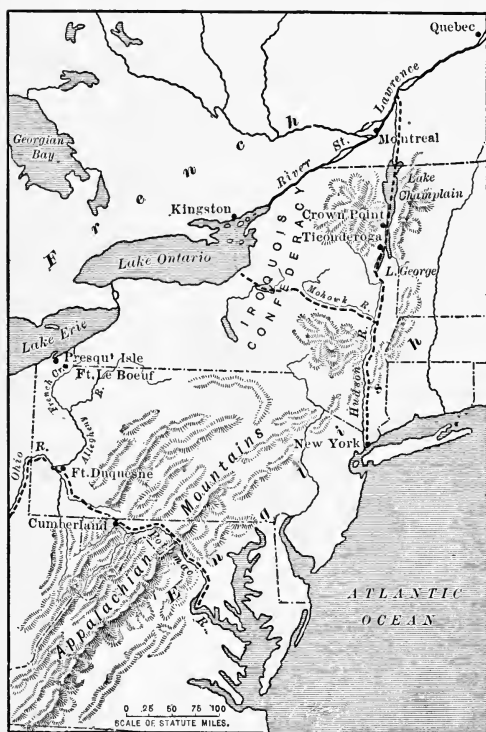


A FRENCH FUR TRADER.

¹ It had been an old Indian trail before the white men came; it was discovered by the bison before the Indians knew of it. It is the route of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to-day.

From this point, if necessary, they could quickly go down the river to the Ohio, or they could as easily get back to Presqu' Isle, the present site of Erie, Pennsylvania.

Many have charged the English government with dilatory conduct for remaining idle while all these things were going on.



GATEWAYS THROUGH THE APPALACHIANS.

The fault, however, lay chiefly with the colonists themselves. The Attitude of the colonists
The governors of Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts each called upon his legislative assembly to take active measures, but the assemblies adjourned without doing anything. Benjamin Franklin and other leading men, in a congress at Albany in 1754, drew up a plan for the federation of the colonies in order that they might take concerted action, but the colonists, who stood in great fear of a

centralized power, rejected the plan with but little ceremony.¹

England, however, sent over some of her best troops, and the colonies called out their militia. But almost always regular

¹ The congress was called for the purpose of making a treaty with the Iroquoians; but some of the delegates preferred to make treaties independently with the tribes on the borders of their own colonies. They regarded Franklin's federation of the colonies as the greater of two evils. The meeting is known as the Albany Congress. See page 177.

troops look upon militia and volunteers with contempt, and this case was no exception to the rule; the two did not get on together very well, and each reserved their worst manners for the other. This was the state of affairs at the beginning of the greatest war that had occurred in the New World, the conflict known as the French and Indian War.

Washington's Mission. 1755. — When it was learned that the French were in the Allegheny Valley, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia determined to send a messenger to confer with the commander of the French troops, and also to prevent as far as possible any intrigues with the Indians. The messenger selected was a young surveyor, George Washington. Washington presented his message to the French commander at Fort Le Bœuf, who told him in a very polite way that what the French were doing in the Allegheny Valley was none of Governor Dinwiddie's business. The commander also intimated that the French troops intended to drive the English out of the country. When Washington returned, Governor Dinwiddie at once ordered a fort built on the peninsula at the junction of the two rivers, where Pittsburg now stands, in order to save the lands of the Ohio Company;¹ but the French drove the men away and themselves completed the fort, which they named Duquesne.

Washington was again ordered to the frontier with three hundred men.² He hastily threw up earthworks, which he named



From a painting.

GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A
YOUNG MAN.

¹ This first Ohio Company, organized in 1749 by Virginia colonists and London merchants, was given by the king of England 500,000 acres of land in western Pennsylvania and along the Ohio River. The company prepared to open roads and establish settlements, but it soon went out of existence.

² It was a Virginia regiment of which Joshua Fry was colonel and Washington the second in command. Colonel Fry was mortally ill, however, and Washington therefore took the command.

Fort Necessity, at Great Meadows, a few miles south of Fort Duquesne. While there, he attacked and captured a French scouting party, which had been reported by his Indian allies; but in a very short time a force of French troops and Indians was upon him, and after a brief struggle (July 4, 1755) he surrendered. He was permitted to leave with arms and equipments. His chief Indian ally, Half-King, remarked that "the French behaved like cowards and the English like fools." It would be a more correct interpretation to claim that neither side desired to shoulder the responsibility of committing a formal act of war, although the fight was clearly an act of war.

The English Plan of Campaign. — Both France and England saw that the struggle was one of life and death, and both prepared themselves for the contest. All the troops that could be spared were hurried to the scene of conflict. The French seemed inclined to act on the defensive. The English planned to attack in four places by as many expeditions. The expeditions were: —

- (1) By way of Cumberland, Maryland, across the divide, to attack Fort Duquesne, at the head of the Ohio.
- (2) Up Lake Champlain to capture Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point and to lay siege to Quebec.
- (3) Through the Hudson and Mohawk valleys to Oswego and Niagara.
- (4) Against the French towns in the northeast by a naval expedition, thereby holding back troops that might otherwise go to the defense of Quebec.

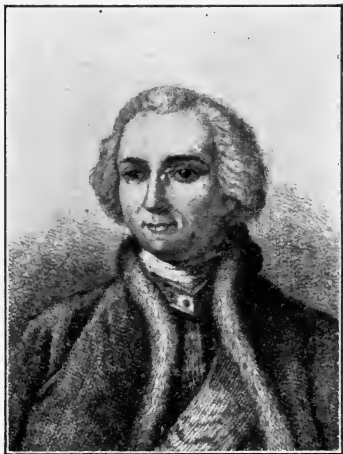
Braddock's Defeat. 1755. — The most important operation was the one designed to check the advance of the French at the head of the Ohio, and General Braddock, the commander-in-chief of the English and colonial forces, undertook this part of the campaign. Braddock's army cut its way through the heavily timbered country until he was within a few miles of Fort Duquesne, when he made the mistake which cost him his life. He would not allow his men to get behind trees or to lie down to deliver their fire, after the Indian plan of fighting. Instead, he held them in solid columns, to be mowed down by the deadly fire of his enemy.¹

¹ The British followed a similar plan during the first part of the Boer War, but they learned better by experience before the war was over.

Braddock himself was a brave leader, and on a European battlefield he would have been a most efficient commander. Fighting a foe of skirmishers in the timber, however, was a new strategy to him and one for which he was not prepared. Washington, who was with Braddock as an aid, was better informed in this sort of fighting, and so he conducted an orderly retreat.

The Campaign in New York and Canada.—The conduct of the war in New York and Canada for the first three years was disheartening. The French had a new commander, a young man named Montcalm. Montcalm was not only a born soldier, he was a born diplomat as well. He made peace with the Iroquoians, long enemies of the French, and even persuaded them to give no help to the English. To emphasize his good intentions, he crossed Lake Ontario from Fort Frontenac one night and drove the English from Fort Oswego. Then, to show the Indians that he did not want their lands, he destroyed the fort and returned to Canada.

The expedition to the Champlain Valley for a time was barren of results. Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George, was captured by Montcalm, and many of the disarmed English soldiers who were retreating to Fort Edward were massacred by drunken Indians. General Abercrombie (1758) attempted to capture Ticonderoga; but though he had nearly five times as many men as Montcalm, the affair was badly managed and proved a wretched failure. After six assaults upon the fort, Abercrombie had lost over two thousand men, killed and wounded. Abercrombie himself kept away from the fight, but brave Lord Howe, who led the assault, was slain. A movement against Crown Point was partly successful, but it had no real results.



THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.

The operations against Niagara were a flat failure. To add to the gloom of the situation, a scalping party of Indians destroyed Palatine Village, New York, leaving forty of its people dead.

An expedition from New England to Acadia in the northeast succeeded in driving out the French.¹

The Turning of the War. Bradstreet destroys the French Supplies. 1758. — At the beginning of 1758 the English cause seemed almost hopeless. Fortunately William Pitt had just come to the front in England as secretary of state. He practically had control of colonial affairs, and his good common sense was felt very quickly. During that year, moreover, an incident occurred that helped very



A MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG AND CAPE BRETON.

The picture shows a rare brass medal, bearing a head of Admiral Boscawen on one side, and on the other a quaint view of Louisburg harbor and fort.

materially to turn the tide of war. The French had never grown any amount of food stuffs in New France and Louisiana. From the beginning of the war they had depended upon the mother country for their supplies, and these were passed onward from one to another of the chain of forts.

During the spring and summer of 1758, it happened that a very large quantity of supplies had accumulated at Fort Frontenac, waiting to be transferred to the forts beyond, mainly to Fort Duquesne. In August Colonel John Bradstreet, a militia officer, urged upon the council of war the necessity of destroying these

¹ Some six thousand Acadians were forcibly removed from their homes and distributed among the English colonies because of their strong loyalty to France.

supplies, and permission for an expedition was reluctantly given. Bradstreet gathered a force of about twenty-seven hundred men, moved rapidly to Oswego, crossed the lake, and before the French were aware of his approach, Fort Frontenac was forever lost to them. All the stores were captured or destroyed, and the chain of forts that had been strangling the colonies was broken.

The Fall of Fort Duquesne and Louisburg. 1758. — The loss of the food stuffs was a fatal blow to the French; at Fort Duquesne starvation was not far off. Washington gradually closed in about the fort (1758), and the garrison set fire to it and retreated. When the English flag was raised over the smoking ruins, all agreed to call the village Pittsburg in honor of William Pitt. About the same time, too, Louisburg, after a hard siege, was surrendered to two very good fighters, Amherst and Boscawen, and thus the St. Lawrence River gateway to New France was in possession of the English. In the meantime, Sir William Johnson made a rapid advance against Fort Niagara and captured it, thus breaking another link in the chain of forts.

The Storming of Quebec. 1759. — The operations in Canada had been directed by General James Wolfe,¹ a very skillful commander. After the fall of Louisburg there remained but one important stronghold, Quebec. The fortress above the town had been made as strong as human hands could



GENERAL WOLFE.

build. The following year, 1759, General Wolfe entered the St. Lawrence and proceeded to lay siege to Quebec. Several weeks of bombardment failed to reduce it, so, during the night of September 12, Wolfe and his men scaled the steep side

¹ He was a most gallant officer, and was selected by Pitt for the command of the forces in the St. Lawrence Valley, ten thousand in number.

of the cliff in the rear of the fortress for a final attack. The morning found them on the top of the cliff, a tableland called the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm at once gave battle, but after a terrible fight the French yielded. Wolfe and Montcalm both fell that day; two better men and braver soldiers than they never met. Quebec was then occupied by the English. In the following summer Montreal was taken. And so ended the French empire in America.

The French expelled from America. 1763. — War had not been publicly declared (May, 1756) until two years after the fighting had begun, and both countries were equally slow in making peace. Three years after the surrender of Montreal, the treaty was signed in Paris, in 1763. By its terms France gave to England all of Canada, except the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and all her territory east of the Mississippi. A small area around the mouth of the river, however, was excluded; this and all territory west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain, who was an ally of France.¹ During the war the English had taken Havana in Cuba; by the treaty this city was exchanged for the Spanish possessions in Florida.

The territory gained by the treaty comprises a large part of the most productive area of the United States. Had the French retained this region with its tremendous natural resources, and the commercial outlets by way of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, France might have become easily the greatest power on the earth.

SUMMARY

The French entered America by way of the St. Lawrence River and established a chain of forts to hold this valley. The region about the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes constituted New France.

By virtue of discovery and exploration, the French claimed the basin of the Mississippi River, named Louisiana, and proceeded to hold it also by a chain of forts connecting the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico.

¹ This territory, including New Orleans, was in 1800 again transferred secretly to France.

During hostilities between England and France, the war was three times carried into the American colonies, constituting King William's, Queen Anne's, and King George's wars.

A fourth war, called the French and Indian War, was waged to determine the mastery of the continent.

A campaign against Fort Duquesne ended in a rout of the English and colonial forces.

A campaign into Champlain Valley for the capture of Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point also failed, and the French general, Montcalm, advanced and captured Fort William Henry.

A sudden capture of Fort Frontenac by Colonel Bradstreet was the turning point of the war. He destroyed the food supplies of the French.

The capture of Quebec by General Wolfe in 1759, and of Montreal in 1760, took from the French their last strongholds in America.

By the treaty of Paris, in 1763, France surrendered to England all of Canada, except two small islands, and all her claims to territory east of the Mississippi; Spain ceded Florida to England. The territory west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain.

COLLATERAL READING

New France and New England — Fiske. Chapter I.

History of the United States — Bancroft. Vol. II, Chapters X, XI.

Montcalm and Wolfe — Parkman. Vol. I, Chapters V, VIII; Vol. II, Chapters XXIV, XXVII.

With Wolfe in Canada — Henty. (For popular reading.)

CHAPTER IX

THE ESTRANGEMENT OF THE COLONIES

The King's Plan for Taxing the Colonies. 1765. — One might reasonably think that the fortunate ending of the French and Indian War would tend to bring the colonies and the mother country into more harmonious relations. As a matter of fact it did not. During the half century that the French had been a constant menace, the question of defense against French aggression had been uppermost. For their protection the colonies naturally looked to England, and therefore all unpleasant feeling about the navigation laws and other restrictions was put aside. When, however, the French were driven out of the continent and were no longer to be feared, all the old issues again came to the surface. Just at this time, too, another vexatious question came up, namely, the payment of the war debt and the right of the mother country to tax the colonies for it.

A few years after George III had come to the throne (1760), a general plan for levying taxes was arranged by his prime minister, Grenville, and under its provisions the colonists were to be required to contribute to the Royal Treasury. The law, passed in 1765, was known in England as the Stamp Act, from the fact that it required that revenue stamps purchased from the government should be placed on all legal documents, promissory notes, and receipts, and also on newspapers and other publications. This form of taxation applied to the mother country as well as to the colonies. The stamps ranged in value from a half penny (one cent) for a stamp to go on a small newspaper or pamphlet, to six pounds sterling (a little more than twenty-nine dollars) for a stamp to go on a commission for a public office. Grenville

**The Stamp
Act**

believed that a large sum could be raised every year from the Americans in this way.

Why the Stamp Act was Passed. — At the time of the passage of the Stamp Act, the public debt of England had reached a total of about seven hundred million dollars. This debt had been contracted mainly in the wars with France, which had been fought in America as well as in Europe. The English people were of the opinion that as a considerable part of the indebtedness had been incurred for the defense of the colonies, it would be no more than right that they should contribute to the payment of this debt. King George desired to keep a standing army in America, and it was proposed to make the colonists pay the cost of it by means of the stamp tax.

This tax was an experiment; should it be successful, other taxes were to be

laid. For many years the colonists had been required to pay to England duties on the sugar and molasses they imported from the West Indies, but never before had the British government attempted to raise taxes except on matters of commerce. The colonists feared that the proposed stamp tax would lead to many other forms of internal taxation. They resented bitterly any tax which hampered or interfered with them in their own internal affairs.

The Colonies are Aroused. — The passage of the Stamp Act brought on the first serious struggle which England had with her American colonies. The tax made an important change in the political system and therefore produced much excitement in each colony. "The sun of Liberty is set," Benjamin Franklin wrote. A great wave of indignation seemed to roll from New Hampshire to Georgia. In every colony the tax was called illegal. The



ENGLISH STAMPS FOR THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

Taxation
without
representation

colonists emphatically asserted that they could be legally taxed only when the taxes were levied by their representative assemblies, and not by the English Parliament, in which they had no representation. "Taxation without representation is tyranny," they declared.

This cry of "no taxation without representation" had been



From the painting by Rothermel.

PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING THE VIRGINIA BURGESSES.

voiced by James Otis of Massachusetts four years previous to the passing of the Stamp Act. In opposition to the attempts to enforce the navigation laws, he argued strongly that England had no right to tax the colonies unless they should have representation in the Parliament. In the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1765 Patrick Henry¹ offered resolutions declaring that

¹ PATRICK HENRY (1736-1799) was a native of Hanover County, Virginia. He early turned from business, for which he had no liking, to the study of law.

the colonies had all the privileges of Englishmen, and that Virginia's charter gave them the right to be taxed by their own assembly alone. Henry's eloquence carried the resolutions with a storm of applause.

For five hundred years it had been a fundamental principle with the English people that no taxes could be lawfully laid on them "but by their own consent or by their representatives." This principle had been maintained by the Americans so far as it related to direct taxation. As subjects of England, they claimed all the rights and liberties of Englishmen. It was not the question of money, but the manner by which it was to be obtained, that aroused opposition.

The colonies had paid the expenses of the soldiers they furnished in the campaigns of the French and Indian War, and had done all they could to enable England to conquer her old enemy and to become the ruler of North America. The war had cost the colonies sixteen million dollars. Of this vast sum the British government had refunded only about five millions. Although still suffering from the effects of the war, the colonies would not have been unwilling to contribute to the relief of the mother country had England asked them to vote their own taxes.

The
principles
at issue



A stylized, cursive signature of Patrick Henry, written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and expressive, with a long, sweeping underline.

The Stamp Act Congress. 1765.—Massachusetts went about

In the Virginia House of Burgesses he was the first to spread revolutionary ideas and enthusiasm. He protested against the Stamp Act, and played an important part in the Continental Congress of 1774. He was twice elected governor of Virginia. He has been named "the orator of the Revolution."

the matter in a very business-like way. In June, 1765, the House of Representatives of that colony passed a resolution asking a conference of the colonies for the purpose of discussing England's new plan of colonial taxation. Nine colonies¹ decided to elect delegates to the conference, which met in New York in the October following. The conference was known as the Stamp Act Congress.² During a session of nearly three weeks, the question of taxation was thoroughly discussed. A petition to King George praying for justice and a memorial to both houses of the Parliament were adopted. The latter document, entitled "The Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonists in America," set forth in strong language the colonial sentiments in regard to taxation. It was declared essential to the freedom of a people and the rights of Englishmen that no taxes should be imposed on them except with their own consent. The declaration asserted:—

That the people of the colonies were not represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain, since they themselves had no vote in the choice of its members.

That no taxes could be constitutionally imposed on them but by their respective legislatures.

A protest was made against the Stamp Act and other recent obnoxious acts of the Parliament which, it was declared, had "a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists." The proceedings of the Congress were received with favor by the people, and the "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" was forthwith sent to England as an expression of the feeling then prevailing in America.

Increase of Popular Indignation.—The Stamp Act was to take effect November 1, 1765, and as the day drew near popular indig-

¹ Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and South Carolina sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress.

² Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts was chosen president of the Congress, and among its prominent members were James Otis, John Dickinson, Robert Livingston, Christopher Gadsden, and Edward Rutledge.

nation against the measure greatly increased. Merchants in the leading colonial cities signed agreements not to buy any goods of England while the Stamp Act was in force. "The women, animated by the same spirit, united with the men in their exertions to prevent the importation of English goods." Mobs in several cities assaulted the stamp officers and forced them to resign their commissions; and boxes of stamps which had come from England were seized and destroyed. For a short time much confusion in

The TIMES are
Dreadful.
Dismal
Doleful
Dolorous, and
DOLLAR-LESS.



of the STAMP
An Emblem of the Effect
of the fatal Stamp

Thursday, October 31, 1765

THE

NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL;

AND

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

1

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Refurrection to LIFE again.

Adm. Atten to the LIBERTY of the PRESS

I AM sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The STAMP ACT, us'd to be obligatory upon us after the First of November ensuing, (the fatal To-morrow) the Publisher of this Paper unable to

bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to stop a while, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and escape the insupportable Slavery; which it is hoped, from the last Representations now made against that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I must earnestly Request every Individual

of my Subscribers many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Discharge their respective Arrears that I may be able, not only to support myself during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpose appears, which I hope will be soon

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

A PENNSYLVANIA NEWSPAPER AT THE TIME OF THE STAMP ACT.

business affairs resulted, as no one would use the required stamps on the various documents. Finally, there was a general agreement that unstamped documents should be received as valid. Thus the hated stamp law was practically annulled by the colonists.

The Repeal of the Stamp Act. 1766.—An act to repeal the Stamp Act was introduced in the Parliament in 1766. The cause of the Americans was advocated by William Pitt, then member of the House of Commons. He contended that, while the Parliament had the power to legislate generally for the American colonies, it

had not the power to lay internal taxation on them without giving them representation.¹

There was great opposition to the act of repeal, and for a time it seemed as though the bill would fail to pass. At last the English merchants and manufacturers, whose trade had been nearly ruined by the refusal of the Americans to buy their goods, began to exert a strong influence on the Parliament. They crowded the lobbies of both houses, and made personal appeals to the members. As a result, the repeal act was passed.

The Declaratory Act. 1766. — When the Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, it passed what is known as the Declaratory Act. This act stated the sovereignty of the Crown over the American colonies, and declared: —

That the king, with the advice of the Parliament, had full power to make laws binding America in all cases whatsoever.

That the acts passed by the colonial assemblies denying to the Parliament the power to tax the colonies were unlawful and revolutionary.

Thus the repeal of the Stamp Act was made the occasion for a strong assertion of the supreme authority of the king and the Parliament. Nothing had been gained by the colonists but a temporary relief from taxation.

Taxation by the Parliament. 1767. — The Stamp Act and the Declaratory Act proved to be great mistakes on the part of the British government. Up to 1765 the colonial legislative bodies had not disputed the right of the Parliament to lay duties, but now they took the position that if the British government wanted money from them, the levies should be made by the colonies themselves and not by the Parliament in England. If the king had called on the colonies for any reasonable amount of money, the colonial assemblies would have raised it with nothing more than the usual grumbling.

Had the king possessed a little more tact, he would not have

¹ He said: "You have no right to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow-subjects, so lost to every sense of virtue as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

proposed that the Parliament raise any other taxes from the American colonies after the failure of the Stamp Act. However, at his direction duties were imposed, in 1767, on glass, lead, paper, painters' colors, and tea brought into the colonial ports from abroad.¹ The money thus collected was to be used to pay the salaries of Crown officers in the colonies, and to support a standing army. This plan had a cunning scheme about it that was quickly unmasked; it not only made the Crown officials independent of the colonial assemblies, but it encouraged them to raise as large a sum as they could.

The Townshend Acts

It is no wonder that such a plan was even more hateful to the people than the Stamp Act had been, and they were quite as determined to resist it. With a standing army in their midst and Crown officers independent of the colonial assemblies, the colonies reasonably concluded that they would have but little power of their own. Therefore, in retaliation, American merchants stopped importing the taxed articles from England. They smuggled tea from Holland and the other supplies from France and Spain, in spite of the best efforts of the customhouse officers to prevent. So the smuggling went on for nearly three years.

The King sends Troops to America; the Boston Riot. 1770. — About this time (1770) the king's ministers unwisely decided to send several regiments of soldiers to America. The troops were to garrison the larger towns and hold themselves in readiness to enforce the king's bidding. What was still more unwise, the colonies were ordered to provide quarters and supplies for the troops. When the troops reached America, the colonies ignored the king's order, and as punishment their legislative assemblies were in nearly every case dissolved by the royal governors.

The presence of the troops was offensive, and it was unfortunate that both the troops and the colonists forgot their good manners when they came in contact with each other.² The idlers and

¹ These tax bills were called the Townshend Acts after their author.

² The desecration of the Sabbath by the king's troops was a great source of irritation to the colonists. In many instances church services were purposely disturbed by drunken soldiers. A wanton and unprovoked assault upon James Otis, made by British officers, probably did quite as much as the Boston riot to drive Massachusetts into rebellion.

loafers were only too glad of an occasion to have fisticuff encounters with the soldiers, and disgraceful fights were of almost daily



KING GEORGE THE THIRD.

occurrence. One evening in Boston (March 5, 1770) a false alarm of fire called out the usual crowd. There happened to be a sentinel in the vicinity doing duty on his post at a public building. The crowd jeered and annoyed him until he was compelled to call for the rest of the guard. When the latter appeared they were surrounded by a hooting mob, who pelted them with snowballs and prodded them with sticks. In the excitement one of the soldiers fired, and immediately the guard followed with a volley; about a dozen

men were killed and wounded.¹ This incident did much toward precipitating war.²

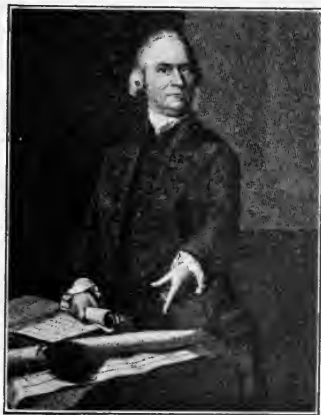
The Tea Tax. 1770-1773. — At last, at the demand of the English merchants and manufacturers, in March, 1770, the duties on everything except tea were removed. The duty on tea was threepence (six cents) a pound. Lord North, then the prime minister of England, said that the tea tax "must be retained, as a mark of the supremacy of the Parliament and its right to govern the colonies." As a matter of fact, the retention of this tax increased the prevailing bad feeling.

¹ In order to allay popular feeling, the soldiers of the guard were tried for murder. Josiah Quincy and John Adams defended them, and all but two were acquitted. Two were found guilty of manslaughter.

² In the year following the Boston riot, an outbreak occurred at Alamance in North Carolina, where a pitched battle was fought in resistance to excessive taxes laid by the governor. The colonial force was defeated. In 1772 a number of Rhode Island people captured and burned a British revenue vessel, the *Gaspee*, which had been collecting duties from Providence vessels.

The merchants in the leading American cities had adhered strictly to their policy of buying no tea from the English importers, known as the East India Company. This company supplied the colonial markets with the products of the Oriental lands. To obtain the tea tax a simple but ingenious plan was arranged whereby the company's tea, even with the duty of six cents a pound added to its price, would be cheaper than it was in England, and even cheaper than the tea smuggled from Holland. It was believed that the cheapness of the tea would induce the Americans to buy it, in spite of the duty.

The plan was a good one, but it failed because the colonists were determined to resist the king's encroachments. A fleet of ships laden with tea was sent to America in the fall of 1773, but not a pound of the tea was sold. When some of the tea ships arrived in the outer harbors of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, they met with so much opposition that they returned to England at once. At Annapolis the tea was burned. Some tea was landed at Charleston for the Southern markets, but the people allowed none of it to be sold. It was stored in damp cellars, and soon spoiled. In New York some of the tea was destroyed.



Samuel Adams

When the tea ships entered Boston Harbor, a committee headed by Samuel Adams guarded them and permitted none of the tea to be brought on shore. As the ships had come within the port limits, they could not legally depart without clearance¹ from the customhouse or a permit from the royal governor of Massachusetts. The people made diligent efforts to obtain a clearance, in order that the ships might go out to sea again without unloading, but failed.

The Boston
Tea Party

¹ A clearance was a certificate granting permission to sail.

The governor declared that the tea should be entered in the customhouse; the people declared that it should not. At the expiration of twenty days the customhouse officers had the right to seize the ships and unload them. So at nightfall a number of citizens disguised as Indians went aboard the ships, and threw the tea into the water. Three hundred and forty-two chests of tea were thus destroyed. It was an unlawful act, but there was great exultation over it.

The King Retaliates. 1774. — When the news of the destruction of the tea at Boston reached England, the king determined to punish the rebellious colonists of Massachusetts, and measures of retaliation were enacted by the Parliament.¹ One of these, the Boston Port Bill, prohibited the landing or shipping of any goods at the port of Boston until the city should pay the East India Company for the tea that had been destroyed. Thus the port was entirely closed to commerce, and great suffering resulted. By another measure the charter of Massachusetts was so changed that it was virtually repealed. The seat of government of the colony was transferred to Salem, and the ruling power was placed in the hands of the Crown officials.

The whole country was aroused at the retaliatory action of the king, and sympathy and aid were freely given to the people of Massachusetts. It was declared that the cause of Massachusetts

Committees of Correspondence was the cause of all the colonies, and all should unite to resist the dangerous encroachments of the English government. The colonies had already begun to act in unison. Committees of correspondence had been appointed in the various colonies, and they developed a regular system for reporting actions and exchanging opinions as to methods of resisting the Parliament.²

¹ The measures adopted by the Parliament are commonly known as the Five Intolerable Acts. They closed the port of Boston, gave the governor power to send certain offenders to England for trial, changed the charter of Massachusetts, legalized the quartering of soldiers on the colonists, and practically extended the boundaries of Quebec over the Mississippi Valley.

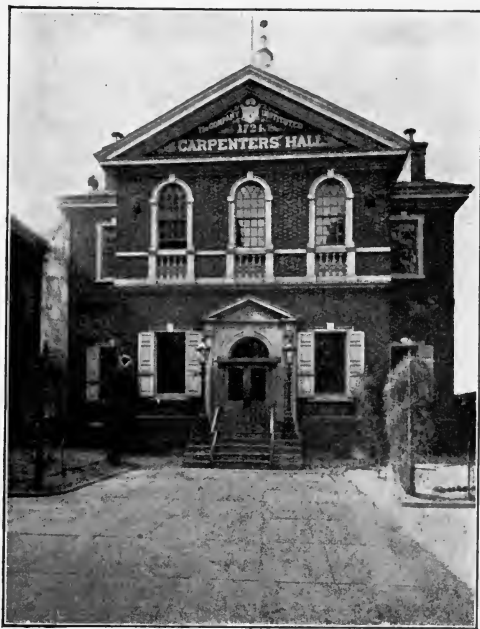
² Committees of correspondence were first established between towns in Massachusetts, according to a plan of Samuel Adams. The suggestion that permanent committees of correspondence be appointed in all the colonies was made by Dabney Carr in the Virginia Assembly in 1773.

The First Continental Congress. 1774. — The people of every section saw that the misfortune which had come to Massachusetts might come to any other colony which should oppose the demands of the king. They began to realize that they must unite. Alone, they were powerless; united, they might be able to accomplish much. The colonial leaders, having a strong desire to meet with one another and confer about the situation, made arrangements for a colonial congress. It was thought that a good plan of action might be devised by an assembly of this kind.

In September, 1774, the first Continental Congress met in secret session in Philadelphia, in a small hall belonging to the Society of Carpenters.

All the colonies, except Georgia, had elected delegates. The delegates were

directed "to consider the most effectual manner of regulating the commercial connection with the mother country, so as to procure redress for Massachusetts, and also to procure the return of harmony and union."¹



CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

¹ The Congress was composed of able men. Among the more distinguished members were George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and Peyton Randolph of Virginia; Samuel and John Adams of Massachusetts; John Dickinson and Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman of Connecticut; Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island; Samuel Chase and Thomas Jefferson of Maryland; Cæsar Rodney of Delaware; Edward Rutledge and Christopher Gadsden

The Declaration of Rights. — The Congress passed a resolution approving of the conduct of Massachusetts; it passed also the Declaration of Rights, a memorial setting forth the rights and privileges claimed by the people. It asserted: —

That the people of the colonies were entitled to life, liberty, and property; and that they had never ceded to a sovereign power the right to dispose of any of these, with or without their consent.

That the right of England to raise a revenue in America by any plan of taxation was most emphatically denied.

That the people of the colonies were entitled to the common law of England, and especially to trial by a jury, and to all the privileges granted them by royal charters.

Two of the foregoing claims are worthy of attention. At first the colonists were not opposed to paying taxes which were levied by themselves, but when it was discovered that the king meant to use the money thus raised to pay Crown officials and to support the troops in America, there quickly grew up a determination to pay no taxes whatever. The second notable claim referred to trial by jury, and was brought about by the passage in the Parliament of the Transportation Bill, one of the Five Intolerable Acts. This act gave the royal governor of a colony the right to send to England for trial any one accused of the killing of a Crown officer, while the latter was trying to enforce the laws.

It was generally agreed in the Congress that the colonists should try only peaceful measures to bring about a more reasonable policy on the part of the king and his ministers. The plan actually followed, however, served only to exasperate the Crown government. The colonies bound themselves to import no more merchandise from England, and no tea, coffee, and spices from English colonies. It was thought that the loss of colonial trade would result in the overthrow of the king's ministry, or force it to be more lenient.

The people of the colonies, both North and South, fully approved the measures of the Congress. They regarded them as

of South Carolina; and John Jay and Philip Livingston of New York. Peyton Randolph was chosen president of the Congress, and Charles Thomson of Philadelphia, secretary.

moderate in sentiment and fair. No authority had been given to the delegates to do anything but recommend an efficient plan of action. They were given no such power as they exercised. But their recommendations were accepted by the colonies, and the friendly league they called for was entered into readily. By bringing the colonies into association, the Congress was an important step toward the formation of a permanent federation.

The King decides to coerce the Colonies; the English View. — In a few weeks after the Congress adjourned, the Declaration of Rights and other papers of the Congress were laid before the British Parliament and discussed in both houses. In the House of Lords, William Pitt, the Earl of Chatham, urged liberal measures for the colonies, saying: "The way must be immediately opened for reconciliation, or it will soon be too late. His Majesty may indeed wear his crown; but the American jewel out of it, it will not be worth the wearing." But all the attempts made by Chatham and the other friends of the colonies to repeal the obnoxious acts were unsuccessful. The Parliament also declared that the colonists had long desired to become independent of Great Britain, and had "only waited for opportunity to accomplish their purpose." Therefore it was the duty of every Englishman "to crush the revolt," and this must be done "at any price."



WILLIAM PITT.

It was pointed out that the colonists were as much represented in the Parliament as were Englishmen living in Eng- Representa-
land. This was true, inasmuch as the great mass of tion
colonists, being regarded as commoners, were represented as a

class in the House of Commons.¹ Therefore they ought to be satisfied to pay the Crown tax imposed in the same manner as it was in England.

The question of trial by jury was a more serious one, and was the outcome of the smuggling that had been going on in the colonies for more than a century. From the time the navigation laws had been passed, smuggling had been practiced in every colony, and, although a crime, it was not considered either a sin or a vice. When the Crown officers began in earnest to put a stop to it, they found it almost impossible to do so. Violators of the law were arrested and tried; but it was not often that a jury would convict, no matter how clear the evidence. Even when revenue officers were killed or wounded by smugglers, it was always difficult and sometimes impossible to secure a conviction. It was for this reason, therefore, that the Parliament gave to the royal governors the power to send to England or to another colony for trial a person charged with murder in resisting the laws.

SUMMARY

England attempted to levy an internal tax on the colonists, instead of permitting the colonists themselves to provide the funds and determine the method of levying the tax.

The king's plan of levying the tax by means of revenue stamps on publications and documents failed, because the colonists refused to use the stamps.

¹ At that time, individual representation in England was not practiced; that is, political divisions, such as counties and shires, did not of necessity constitute election districts, as they are known to-day. Large cities, like Liverpool, Manchester, and others, did not have a single representative in the Parliament. Classes, not localities, were represented. The clergy and the Church were represented by bishops; the nobility, by members of the House of Lords; the great middle class, or commoners, by members elected to the House of Commons. This plan of representation had been followed for many generations in England, and Englishmen knew no other. Inasmuch as it was satisfactory to them, they could not understand why it was not good enough for the colonists. On the other hand, to the democracy of the colonists, which grew out of the geographic surroundings in which they lived, such a scheme of representation was no representation at all. Each was right from his own standpoint.

Nine colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, which passed a "Declaration of Rights," protesting against the levy of taxes on the colonists unless the latter were to have representatives in the Parliament.

The Stamp Act was repealed by the Parliament, but the Crown levied another tax on tea, in order to hold to the principle that the Crown had the right to tax the colonies.

The colonies refused to admit tea at the various ports, and the Parliament passed the Five Intolerable Acts as a punishment.

The First Continental Congress met in 1774 and presented to the king a Declaration of Rights stating the rights claimed by the colonists.

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The American Revolution — Fiske. Chapters I, II.

History of the United States — Bancroft. Vol. III, Chapter VI.

The Story of Liberty — Coffin. (For popular reading.)

CHAPTER X

THE REVOLT AND THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Massachusetts resists the King's Orders. 1774-1775. — During the winter of 1774-1775, the relations between the colonies and the British government began to assume a warlike aspect. After the Parliament had rejected Pitt's efforts to make peace, King George and his ministers manifested a disposition to quell the revolt in the colonies by military force. The king's army in the colonies was increased, and a fleet of war ships was sent to American waters.



From the statue at Concord.

A MINUTEMAN.

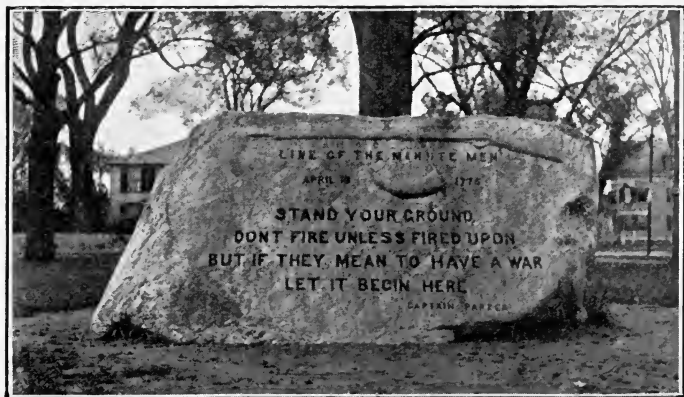
In Massachusetts the royal government had been practically set aside. The people had refused to accept the changes made by the Parliament in their ancient charter. They had forced the resignation of the councilors appointed by the king and had closed the king's courts. The General Court, or assembly of the colony, having been dissolved by the king's orders, the members formed a Provincial Congress, which assumed control of public affairs and provided for the equipment of twelve thousand militia to defend the colony from attack. One fourth of the militia were to be "minutemen," ready to march "at a minute's warning."

The king appointed General Gage, commander of the British troops in America, as military governor of Massachusetts, and the latter established himself in Boston with about three thousand soldiers. Outside of Boston and the near-by towns, however, he

had but little authority, as the remainder of the colony fully supported the Provincial Congress and ignored his orders.

All the other Northern and some of the Southern colonies were in sympathy with the defiant attitude of Massachusetts. Virginia and North Carolina set aside the royal governments and formed provisional governments.

In February, 1775, the Parliament declared Massachusetts in rebellion, restricted her commerce, and shut out her fishermen from the Newfoundland fisheries. The commercial restrictions were subsequently extended to all the colonies, except New York and South Carolina.



WHERE THE FIRST SHOT WAS FIRED AT LEXINGTON.

The Skirmish at Lexington and Concord. April 19, 1775. — In April, 1775, General Gage was informed that the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had collected a quantity of military stores at Concord, and he determined to seize them. Previously, he had received orders from England to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock, the distinguished Massachusetts leaders, for so-called treasonable utterances, and to send them to England for trial. He learned that they were at Lexington, a small village eleven miles from Boston, on the highway to Concord, six miles farther.

During the night of April 18, Gage sent from Boston eight hundred soldiers with orders to seize Adams and Hancock at Lexington, and the military stores at Concord. The departure of the soldiers was discovered, and Paul Revere was sent on a swift horse to give warning of their approach. Revere aroused the people everywhere, and reached Lexington considerably in advance of the soldiers. Adams and Hancock fled to a place of safety. Revere was arrested near Concord, but his warning reached there, and the military stores were securely hidden.

At dawn on the 19th, Gage's soldiers reached Lexington. On the village green were about seventy minutemen drawn up to oppose them. Major Pitcairn, the British commander, **Lexington** ordered them to disperse, but they did not obey. Then the British troops fired a volley into their ranks, killing seven and wounding nine. The fire was returned in a scattering way, but did little or no harm. The minutemen saw that it would be foolish to give battle to so large a force and therefore retreated.



John Hancock

The troops proceeded to Concord. They did not find the military stores, but they seized and destroyed some supplies of flour and a few abandoned gun carriages. Three companies advanced to North Bridge, where they were attacked by minutemen. Then the whole force began to retreat in disorder. The retreat became a panic. The minutemen followed almost to Boston, firing with deadly effect from the shelter of trees and walls. About three hundred were killed, including

**The retreat
from
Concord**

fifty minutemen, before the troops reached Boston.

The news of the conflict of arms was carried rapidly over New England, and in a few days sixteen thousand militia had assem-

bled around Boston. The Middle and Southern colonies were startled by the bloodshed in Massachusetts, and began to prepare for war with energy and determination. This was the condition of affairs when the second Continental Congress began its session at Philadelphia, on May 10, 1775.

The Second Congress. 1775.— Delegations from all the colonies were present during the session of the second Congress, which met (May, 1775) in Philadelphia in the building then called the State House, but now known as Independence Hall, because there the Declaration of Independence was signed. Washington, the Adamses, Lee, Sherman, Henry, Dickinson, and most of the other prominent members of the first Continental Congress were present in the second. Among the new members were Benjamin Franklin¹ and John Hancock, who became its president. With little real authority to act for the United Colonies, but with the tacit consent of the people, the Congress set up a revolutionary government. It was necessary for the Congress to assume governmental powers; it took upon itself much the same authority as the British Crown had previously exercised in the colonies.²

Committees were appointed to have charge of the several executive departments, and they went to work speedily. Arrangements were made for the enlistment of troops from all the colonies, the

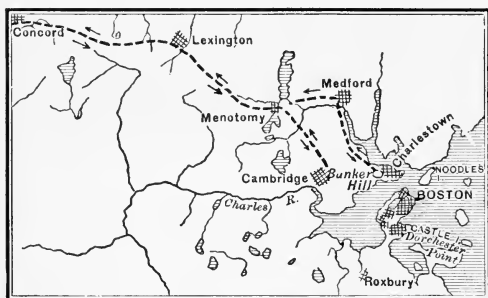
¹ BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1706-1790) was born at Boston. At an early age he engaged in the printer's trade; in 1729 he went to Philadelphia and edited the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. He later founded the Philadelphia library and the University of Pennsylvania. In 1752 he made the important discovery that lightning is a discharge of electricity. He served as deputy postmaster-general for the colonies from 1753 to 1774. In 1775 he was elected a member of the Continental Congress. He was instrumental in concluding the treaty by which France acknowledged the independence of America in 1783, and the treaty of peace with England in 1783. He ranks with Washington as a founder of the American nation.

² Although the colonists had engaged in battle with the British and were making extensive preparations for war, the Congress decided to send another address to King George, entreating him to deal justly with the colonies. This rather singular step was taken in order to satisfy the conservative members of the Congress, such as John Jay and John Dickinson, who thought that one more attempt should be made at reconciliation with England. Dickinson wrote the address, which he called an "Olive Branch." The king answered it by declaring that the Americans were rebels and traitors and must be forced to submit to the rule of the British Crown.

whole to form the Continental army. Arms and military supplies were ordered from foreign countries. The sixteen thousand New

The Continental army England militia, encamped around Boston, were drafted into the government service. Colonel George Washington¹ was appointed general and commander-in-chief of the Continental army. Washington was selected for the command partly as a compliment to Virginia, but mainly on account of his services in the French and Indian War. In the commission he received from the Congress the expression, "United Colonies," appeared for the first time in an official document.

The Battle of Bunker Hill. June 17, 1775. — The politic General Gage seemed anxious to avoid the beginning of hostilities as long



THE CAMPAIGN AROUND BOSTON, 1775-1776.

as there was the slightest prospect of restoring peace. The skirmish at Lexington and the fight on the retreat from Concord, however, put an end to all thought of peace, and Gage at once began measures of a warlike character.

¹ GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799) was the son of a Virginia planter. He distinguished himself as an able and intrepid soldier in the French and Indian War. He was chosen delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress of 1774 and 1775. On June 15, 1775, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental forces, and he remained in command to the close of the Revolution in 1781. He then retired to his farm at Mt. Vernon. From there he was called, in February, 1789, by a unanimous vote, to become the first President of the United States. He was inaugurated at New York, April 30, 1789. Re-elected in 1793, he continued to serve as the head of the new nation until 1797. The remaining two years of his life were spent at his Mt. Vernon home. He was a man preëminently calm and just and incorruptible. It was due largely to his personal leadership that the Revolution succeeded, and to his integrity of character that the new government stood firm.

are Bunker Hill and Breeds Hill. These hills overlooked the harbor and practically commanded it; hence it was necessary to the safety of the British fleet that they should be fortified, and General Gage was about to undertake the work. The intention was discovered, however, and the colonial authorities sent Colonel Prescott with twelve hundred men to take possession of the heights. The troops worked rapidly during the night (June 16), and their presence was not known until morning.

At dawn General Gage saw with chagrin that he had been outmaneuvered. The British fleet opened fire, but the shots made no difference to the Continental soldiers; they kept on until a line of entrenchments was nearly complete. General Gage sent a force of about three thousand men, under General Howe, across from Boston. The British troops charged the steepest side of the hill, and when they were only a few feet from the breastworks a galling fire raked them with a terrible effect. They retreated, but re-formed and charged again.

With the third volley the powder of the Americans was exhausted, and the battle became a hand-to-hand conflict, in which the Americans were obliged to rely on "gun-clubbing" as the only means of defense. Then, having lost more than one third of their number, they fell back and retreated over the neck to the mainland. The British loss was nearly eleven hundred; the colonists lost about four hundred.¹

The moral effect of the battle was very great. The American troops learned that as fighters they were equal to the pick of the British troops; the latter also learned the same lesson, and it was a disagreeable surprise to them. The skirmish at Lexington and Concord and the battle of Bunker Hill brought the fighting qualities of the colonists to the attention of Europe. Vergennes, a noted French diplomat, declared that two more such British victories would leave England without a colonial army.²

The effect of
the battle

¹ Among the dead were the gallant General Warren, commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts militia, and the English Major Pitcairn, the leader of the attack on Lexington and Concord.

² The Parliament passed an act (August 23, 1775) declaring the colonies in rebellion and prohibiting all commerce with them. Great preparations were

Washington takes Command. 1775.—On July 2, 1775, fifteen days after the battle of Bunker Hill, General Washington took command of the army around Boston. By this time many of the minutemen and some of the militiamen had returned to their homes, their term of service having expired. About three thousand men from Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania were added to the army, making it nearly nine thousand strong. It was a wretched condition of things that Washington found. The men had no idea of discipline nor military training; they were without sufficient arms; there was neither quartermaster's stores for clothing and equipment, nor commissary department to look after food supplies. Washington not only overcame these difficulties, but he kept the British army shut up in Boston in the meantime.

It was evident that prompt measures must be taken to save Boston and New York City. To do this—

The British were to be prevented from invading New York from Canada by way of Lake Champlain.

General Gage was to be kept in Boston for the time being.

The Invasion of Canada. 1775.—In order to prevent an invasion from Canada, Washington proposed to capture Montreal and Quebec. One detachment under Richard Montgomery went north by way of Ticonderoga and captured Montreal; another under Benedict Arnold marched through the pine forests of Maine, and after terrible suffering reached Quebec, where the two forces joined.

On the last day of December, 1775, Quebec was attacked on two sides, and a desperate battle took place. Montgomery actually entered the city, but was killed. Arnold was severely wounded. The plucky Colonel Daniel Morgan, with his Virginia companies, also entered the town, but not having any support, he was surrounded and captured. Shortly afterward the British were reënforced and the Americans were pushed back to Crown Point on Lake Champlain.

made to subdue the colonies, and for that purpose a British army of twenty-five thousand soldiers was ordered to cross the Atlantic at once. In addition to this great force about twenty thousand Hessians were hired from German princes.

The Escape of the British from Boston. 1776. — While Washington was drilling his army, he was also drawing his lines closely around Boston. All this time he was censured for not giving battle to the British. Many wished him to set fire to the city. Washington stood the abuse patiently and watched for his opportunity. Among other disadvantages was the fact that he had no cannon, and without them he felt helpless in making any offensive movement.



From the painting by Wageman.

LORD HOWE'S ARMY EVACUATING BOSTON.

By the 1st of March, however, cannon had been dragged to the scene of action on sledges — many of them from Fort Ticonderoga¹ — and the time for attack had come. On the night of the 4th of March, while the British were kept busy repelling a sham attack, two thousand men, with spades and picks, ox carts, and bales of hay, were throwing up fortifications on Dorchester Heights, a little to the southeast of Boston. And when General Howe woke up the following morning, he found himself in a trap. The siege

¹ Ethan Allen of Vermont and Benedict Arnold of Connecticut, with a small body of volunteers, surprised and captured the strong fortress of Ticonderoga, with its supply of powder and cannon (May, 1775).

guns on Dorchester Heights were ready for business. Not only his army but the fleet as well were at the mercy of Washington. General Howe had his choice: he could fight or get to sea. His men, however, had not forgotten Bunker Hill; he quickly got aboard his ships and made for Halifax.

Headquarters transferred to New York. — Washington felt sure that sooner or later General Howe would attack New York City, and he moved his troops there with little delay. By April he was encamped on Brooklyn Heights, Long Island. These movements ended the war operations in the New England colonies. New York became the center of the next campaign.

The Beginning of the Navy. — While these operations were going on, the Congress ordered the fitting out of vessels to cruise in the New England waters and intercept ships carrying military stores for the British. This was the beginning of a Continental navy, under the command of Admiral Esek Hopkins of Rhode Island. In retaliation for an act of the Parliament which had authorized the capture and condemnation of American ships, the Congress gave authority to public and private armed vessels¹ to seize British ships and goods found upon the high seas.

Preparations for the Conflict. — Two million dollars of paper money, known as bills of credit or Continental currency, were issued by the Congress to defray the expenses of the war and to maintain the national government. The United Colonies were pledged to pay the face value of these bills in gold or silver in from four to seven years.²

The ports of the United Colonies were opened to the vessels of all nations except Great Britain.

A treasury department and a general post-office for the United Colonies were established by the Congress, and diplomatic relations were entered into with foreign nations.

Fighting in North Carolina. 1776. — After the disastrous victory at Bunker Hill, the king did not attempt to send any more troops to Massachusetts. Orders had been given for the landing of the

¹ Armed vessels owned and officered by private persons, but acting under a commission from the government, are called privateers.

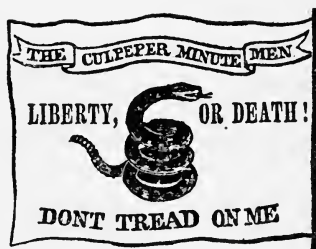
² See page 173.

British transports in the estuary of Cape Fear River. The royal governor of North Carolina determined to coöperate with the British forces, and raised about sixteen hundred men for the purpose. But his plans went badly awry. There were minute-men in North Carolina; Colonel Richard Caswell, having gathered about one thousand of them, fell on the governor's troops at Moores Creek (February 27, 1776). He captured most of the troops, together with fifteen thousand pounds in gold and two thousand muskets. Within a few days ten thousand men had enrolled to defend North Carolina, and the British forces did not dare to land. The colony was ready to declare for independence.

The Burning of Norfolk. 1775-1776. — In November, 1775, Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation calling all slaves and indentured white servants to take arms against the colonists. The only result was to enrage the colonists. Hearing that North Carolina minutemen were about to march on Norfolk, Dunmore built a fort at Elizabeth River and established a force of the king's troops to hold it. This added to the intense hatred for Dunmore to such an extent that a body of Virginia minutemen pounced upon the fort, killed about sixty troops, and put the rest to flight—all without the loss of a minuteman.

Lord Dunmore then escaped to the British warship *Liverpool*. On New Year's Day, 1776, he entered the port of Norfolk, turned the *Liverpool's* guns upon the city, and soon had it in flames. It was a wanton act, for Norfolk had been loyal to the king up to that time. After that event there was no question as to the attitude of Virginia. Some six months later Dunmore was driven out of the state.

The Attack on Charleston. 1776. — Sir Henry Clinton had sailed south from Massachusetts with two thousand men, and in



THE RATTLESNAKE FLAG, CARRIED BY VIRGINIA MINUTEMEN.

May, 1776, his fleet was strengthened by the ships and troops from Great Britain. The force was then thought to be strong enough to attempt a landing at Charleston. The colonists under Colonel Moultrie had built a fort of palmetto trunks and sand at Sullivan's Island, a point which commanded the harbor. Through a piece of stupidity, the British troops were landed in a swamp where they were helpless and the fire from their ships was harmless. When the fight of ten hours was over, the British ships were so badly battered that only one of the ten ships was fit for service. Ships and troops thereupon returned to New York.

The Demand for Independence. — From the very beginning of the trouble about taxation, a few of the leading colonists had advocated separation from the mother country. There was no apparent desire, however, among the masses of the American people to separate from the country to which they had so long given allegiance and for which they had genuine affection. But with the news that a large army had been sent to subdue them, the people began to realize, for the first time, the need of separation if they were to preserve their freedom.

At first they resisted taxation and the various usurpations of George III with the feeling that resistance would speedily cause their grievances to be redressed. They were loyal subjects, but, like the freemen from whom they were descended, they were prompt and firm in the assertion of their rights and liberties. As it became evident that a peaceful adjustment of grievances was unlikely, there came from people throughout the colonies a demand that the Continental Congress should come out boldly for independence.¹

Maryland and Pennsylvania had not much to complain of, and were somewhat reluctant to take any decisive step. The New England colonies could not forget the behavior of the king's soldiers and the atrocious assault upon James Otis. In Virginia the people had witnessed the burning of Norfolk by shells from a British warship, and the experience was bitter to them. It is not surprising, then, that the Virginia Assembly should vote to "pro-

¹ It should be noted that at this time probably one third of the people in the colonies were loyal to the king. These people were called Tories or Loyalists.

pose to the Congress that the colonies should be declared free and independent.”¹

For a considerable time there was constant discussion of independence in public and private, and many pamphlets upon the subject were published. Thomas Paine, a prominent journalist of Philadelphia, gained much fame by a pamphlet entitled “Common Sense,” in which he advocated the necessity and advantage of separation from the mother country.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for ^{one} people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to ~~assume a new and separate station~~ ^{assume a new and separate station} among the powers of the earth, the ^{separate and equal} ~~separate and equal~~ station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to ~~the~~ ^{the} separation.

A REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT IN THE HANDWRITING OF JEFFERSON.

The question was at last taken up by the Congress on the 7th of June, 1776. Richard Henry Lee, by request of the Assembly of Virginia, offered resolutions for independence as follows:—

Lee's
resolutions

Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved.

Resolved, That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

Resolved, That a plan of confederation be prepared and submitted to the respective colonies for their consideration.

¹At the statehouse at Williamsburg the British flag was hauled down, and a banner with thirteen stripes was hoisted in its place.

In opposition to Lee's resolutions, it was contended that the colonies had only a small, poorly equipped army and navy and insufficient resources, and that conciliatory measures would be much better. By the 1st of July, however, every colony but New York had instructed its delegates in the Congress to vote for Lee's resolutions. The next day, the 2d, they were passed by the votes of all the colonies except New York.¹

The Declaration of Independence. July 4, 1776. — The Congress then began to consider the draft of the Declaration of Independence, which was submitted by the committee appointed to prepare it. It had been hastily written by Thomas Jefferson in his lodgings in Philadelphia by request of the other members of the committee. A few verbal changes were made; and in the afternoon of the 4th of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was agreed to. It was subsequently signed by all the members present except one.²

SUMMARY

In most of the colonies the people either resisted the king's orders or failed to obey them.

In Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina the royal governments were set aside and provisional governments were formed.

In Massachusetts the king's troops, in 1775, fired on the minutemen at Lexington and Concord, but returned to Boston with great loss.

The Congress arranged for the organization of the Continental army, and appointed George Washington commander-in-chief.

The king's troops attacked the Americans at Bunker Hill and drove them from their position.

The next year the British were forced to evacuate Boston.

An invasion of Canada by the Americans in 1775 failed.

In Virginia the royal Governor Dunmore's troops were attacked near Norfolk by minutemen and were defeated. The governor retaliated by burning the city.

¹ The delegates from New York favored them, but as they had received no instructions about the matter from their legislature, they asked to be excused from voting.

² The exception was John Dickinson. His refusal to sign was due not to a lack of patriotism, but to a feeling of extreme caution.

In North Carolina Colonel Caswell attacked and captured at Moores Creek a regiment of Tories, who had taken up arms for the king.

On July 4, 1776, the Congress declared the colonies free and independent states.

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The American Revolution—Fiske. Vol. I, Chapters II, IV.

History of the United States—Bancroft. Vol. III, Chapters XIV–XVI, XX–XXII.

The Boys of '76—Coffin. (For popular reading.)

CHAPTER XI

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

THE WAR IN NEW YORK AND THE MIDDLE STATES

Washington at New York City. 1776. — By the spring of 1776 Washington had concentrated at New York City all the troops that could be spared, about eight thousand in number, and prepared to defend it. With these troops he must guard not only Manhattan Island but also Brooklyn and Jersey City. He could not defend Staten Island. The Hudson Valley was guarded by Fort Washington and Fort Lee, the former at the head of Manhattan Island, the latter on the Jersey side immediately opposite; the channel between them was blocked by sunken ships. Washington held Manhattan Island; Brooklyn Heights was placed under the command of General Putnam. This position overlooked what was then the city of New York, and it partly controlled the water supply.

Washington needed two things badly — men and equipments. He asked the Congress for both, and it tried faithfully to get them. But the Congress had no power. It could ask the various states for soldiers or for money, but it could do nothing but ask. The states responded slowly. Nevertheless, after much delay, Washington got together about eighteen thousand men.

The Tories. — There was another serious trouble with which Washington had to contend. Not all the people in and about New York City favored the American cause. The Friends, of whom there were many, were prevented from taking sides actively because of their faith, which forbade any but peaceful measures. There were many others, commonly called Tories, who were in

outspoken sympathy with the British cause; as a rule they were English-born subjects who had resided only a few years in America. They were intelligent and well-to-do, and they used their efforts against the American cause. Even at that time Friends and Tories had enough power to thwart Washington in many ways.¹

The Battle of Long Island. 1776. — To do battle with Washington's force, the British reached Staten Island with over twenty-five thousand troops effective for service under General Howe, and a well-equipped fleet commanded by his brother, Lord Howe. They determined first to capture Brooklyn Heights, and on August 27, 1776, they fought their way to Putnam's fort on the Heights. About three hundred Americans were killed or wounded, and one thousand were taken prisoners. With the coming of night, it seemed certain that Putnam's entire force would be captured, but a most providential thing happened. A very heavy rain, followed by a dense fog, caused the British to delay their final attack. By this time Washington, who had taken charge of affairs, saw that the only chance to escape capture was a quick retreat. Under cover of the fog, the Americans crept silently to the site now occupied by Fulton Ferry, leaving their camp fires to illuminate the murky fog. The retreat was a most skillful piece of work.

Washington well knew that after his abandonment of Brooklyn Heights, the British would quickly take possession of New York, and also that his army must get out of the city. He therefore moved his troops northward through Harlem.

The British in New York. — General Howe thus found little resistance to his occupation of New York City. It was probably the best military base he could have had, for he could easily receive his supplies from England. Moreover, if he could possess himself of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, the New England and the Southern colonies would be kept apart and could be subdued one after the other.

¹ Two Quakers who conducted a party of royal troops to an American outpost were convicted of treason and hanged. About three thousand Tories afterward left the country.

The King's Plan. — In order to conquer the region that is now New York State, the king's advisers made the following plan:— General Burgoyne should march a British army southward from Canada through the Champlain Valley.

Colonel St. Leger should cross Lake Ontario to Oswego and occupy the Mohawk Valley.

General Howe and Lord Howe should go up the Hudson and meet the other divisions at Albany.

The plan was an excellent one, but for very good reasons it did not succeed. Washington's retreat furnished one of the reasons.

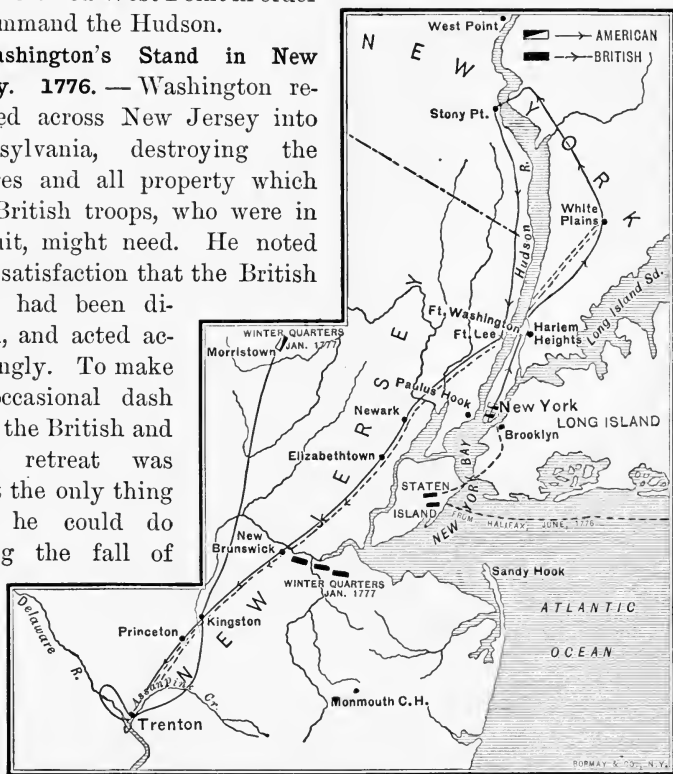
Washington's Retreat. 1776. — While Washington was getting away from New York City, General Howe's troops were close upon him.¹ There was some sharp fighting at Pelham, where Glover's "fishermen" held back the advance of the British troops; there was also some hot work in the vicinity of Harlem, but the army got away in safety. From Harlem, Washington moved to White Plains, where there was another skirmish at Chattertons Hill. Then he crossed the Hudson, remaining a short time at Hackensack, New Jersey.

The Capture of Fort Washington; Lee's Disobedience. 1776. — In the meanwhile, General Howe was not idle. By a skillful stroke he captured Fort Washington and three thousand American soldiers. Fort Lee, on the Jersey side of the Hudson, then became the chief object of attention, and Howe ordered Cornwallis to take it. Cornwallis, however, was too late to capture the troops there, for they got away in much the same manner as at Brooklyn Heights. General Charles Lee was still on the east side of the Hudson with four thousand American soldiers, and he was ordered to join Washington so that the two forces might capture

¹ Most of the British troops landed at what is now the Thirty-fourth Street Ferry, and were close to the rear of Putnam's soldiers, who were on their way northward from Fulton Ferry. About a mile from the Thirty-fourth Street crossing there lived Mrs. Murray, the mother of the grammarian, Lindley Murray. Mrs. Murray was equal to the occasion; she invited General Howe and his staff to an elaborate luncheon, which she was careful to take plenty of time to prepare, and for more than two hours she kept her guests at table. In the meantime, General Putnam and his troops had hurried up the road and had joined Washington somewhere near Harlem. The site of Mrs. Murray's house has long since been covered by massive buildings, but to this day it is known as Murray Hill.

Lord Cornwallis. To his shame, Lee disobeyed the order.¹ Later, however, he crossed at his leisure. He himself was captured, but his troops joined Washington. Washington afterward fortified West Point in order to command the Hudson.

Washington's Stand in New Jersey. 1776. — Washington retreated across New Jersey into Pennsylvania, destroying the bridges and all property which the British troops, who were in pursuit, might need. He noted with satisfaction that the British army had been divided, and acted accordingly. To make an occasional dash upon the British and then retreat was about the only thing that he could do during the fall of



CAMPAIGNS IN NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY.

¹ At the time Lee was using his influence with the Congress to obtain the command of the army for himself. Failing in that, — it has been learned in late years, — he opened a treasonable correspondence with British authorities in New York. Lee was afterward courtmartialled and dismissed from the army. While he was a prisoner of the British, he was sentenced to be hanged as a deserter. His life was saved by Washington's intercession. This act has been characterized as the only mistake Washington ever made. Charles Lee was not related to the Lees of Virginia.

1776. He would have had little chance of success in a general engagement, but by the plan he followed, his troops were gaining the experience and discipline they needed, while the British were losing men and arms all the time.

On Christmas night Washington crossed the Delaware River above Trenton,¹ made a sudden attack upon the British camp, captured one thousand hired Hessian soldiers, and got back to Pennsylvania with them. He then returned to New Jersey, and on January 2 was facing the enemy at Trenton. Cornwallis, who more than once had Washington where escape seemed impossible, remarked that he had the old fox penned and would bag him in the morning. Next morning, however, the "old fox" was gone. While a few of his men were making a show of throwing up earthworks, Washington moved his troops away under the cover of night. At dawn he fell upon three regiments of British troops at Princeton, and in twenty minutes had them badly whipped, capturing three hundred men, together with a much-needed supply of arms and ammunition. Cornwallis followed to Princeton, but was too late to "bag the fox."

Washington remained quiet at his winter camp near Morristown, New Jersey, except for making an occasional dash. On one of these raids he captured about two thousand prisoners from the British, and opened communication with the Hudson Valley. By this time, the military leaders of Europe discovered that Washington was employing tactics hitherto unknown in the art of war. During the winter he gained many recruits; the British, on the other hand, lost many Hessian soldiers by desertion.² Many Tories and British sympathizers turned to the American cause at this time; but the greatest aid that the Americans received was

¹ Before he could cross the river it was necessary to send scouting parties up and down the river, a distance of many miles, to take possession of all boats that could be found.

² The Hessians, being hired soldiers, cared nothing for the British. The Congress, in order to encourage their desertion, made an offer of land to any one who should desert to the Americans. Printed notices to this effect, inclosed in tobacco wrappers, were distributed among them, with the result that a considerable number came to the Americans.

the services of Marquis de Lafayette, a young French officer, and of Baron von Steuben and Baron De Kalb, both famous German soldiers.

The Campaign about Philadelphia. 1777. — In the following summer General Howe determined to take Philadelphia, then the capital of the United States. He started by land, but Washington harassed him so badly that he went back to New York and embarked his troops on transports. When he reached the mouth of the Delaware, he found that it would be almost certain destruction to run by the two forts guarding the river, so he turned southward, entered the Chesapeake Bay, and landed at the head of it. Washington tried to check his advance at Chads Ford, on the Brandywine, but the battle was against him (September 11, 1777). Washington then entered Philadelphia and remained a few days, but he left the city rather than risk a general battle.



Lafayette

Shortly afterward General Howe took possession of Philadelphia, and the Congress fled to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. General Howe left part of his army encamped at Germantown, while he went with a considerable force to capture the forts on the Delaware. While he was gone, Washington made a sudden attack on the force at Germantown, but failed to capture it. Then he made his winter camp at Valley Forge, twenty miles from Philadelphia. During this winter the troops suffered dreadfully for want of food and clothing. Some of the men were without shoes,¹ and part of the time they had to sleep in the snow.

Valley
Forge

¹ There were plenty of supplies to be had, but there was no system in the quartermaster's department, the bureau that has charge of such supplies.

Carrying out the King's Plan; Burgoyne invades New York. 1777.—While Washington was keeping General Howe busy in the vicinity of Philadelphia, the first part of the king's plan was under way. Early in the summer of 1777, General John Burgoyne started southward from Canada along the Champlain Valley. He had about eight thousand men, which were more than enough; of supplies he had by no means a sufficient amount. He had been led to believe that he could obtain whatever supplies he needed, and also that there were many Tories in the Mohawk and Hudson valleys who would join him.¹

In part, this was true. The route into New York was not a difficult one, but the supplies never reached Burgoyne, because the Americans determined that they should not. The Tories were also there, but the sturdy men of New York saw to it that they did not get to Burgoyne. As a matter of fact, General Burgoyne left his base of supplies in Canada and, inadequately equipped, plunged into a forest wilderness, ignorant of the conditions ahead of him. For this he himself was partly to blame, but in the main it was the fault of the king's advisers.

On the way up the Champlain Valley, Burgoyne captured Fort Ticonderoga (July, 1777) and drove General Schuyler, who defended it, to Fort Edward. Burgoyne learned that **Bennington** some provisions and military supplies had been stored at the village of Bennington, Vermont, and he sent one thousand men to capture them. At Bennington the troops met Colonel John Stark, a veteran of Bunker Hill, who routed them so effectually that scarcely one hundred got back to their command. Burgoyne struggled onward, hoping against hope that he might have news either of General Howe or of Colonel St. Leger.

In the meantime, there were near him three Americans who had developed great skill as fighters—Generals Schuyler and Arnold, and Colonel Daniel Morgan. They seemed never to sleep. Schuy-

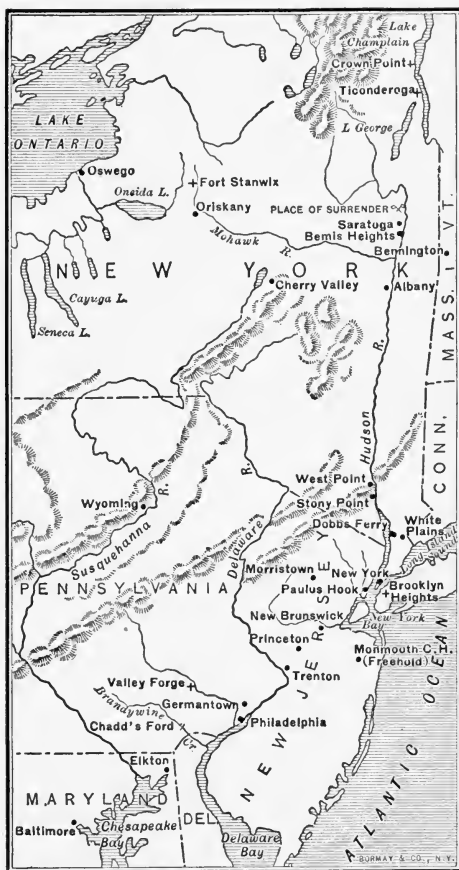
¹ At that time the entire population of New York State was not more than one hundred and seventy-five thousand,—it ranked seventh among the colonies,—and practically all of it was in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. Many people in the western part remained loyal to England—among them Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William Johnson, who had been the British superintendent of Indian affairs in the colonies. The Iroquoian tribes also were loyal to the king.

ler destroyed the roads and bridges upon which Burgoyne must depend. Then, at an opportune moment, Arnold and Morgan fell on him at Bemis Heights and stopped his progress southward; three weeks later they inflicted a harder blow at Stillwater. Then, step by step, he was driven back to Saratoga. At Saratoga he found himself without food, surrounded by Americans. There was but one thing

Burgoyne's he could do;
Surrender so on Octo-
at Saratoga ber 17, 1777,

his army of six thousand men laid down their arms.¹ To the lasting shame of the Congress, General Gates's promise to send Burgoyne's troops home was never carried out; the troops were kept as prisoners of war.

The operations about Saratoga in many ways were the turning point of the war.



THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE MIDDLE STATES.

From a military standpoint, Burgoyne's

¹ The surrender was made to General Gates, who had just superseded General Schuyler. Gates was a blunderer as a military leader, but undoubtedly was a shrewd "wire-puller." The action of the Congress in displacing General Schuyler has always been considered unwise. It was done against the wishes of General Washington.

surrender completely put an end to the king's plans. In another respect, also, it was a turning point, for the French king, seeing that the Americans had an excellent chance to win, seized the opportunity to come to their aid with troops and supplies.

Carrying out the King's Plan ; St. Leger's Expedition. 1777. —

In the middle of July Colonel St. Leger crossed Lake Ontario to Oswego with a force of about one thousand men. **In the Mohawk Valley** He did not take more troops because he expected to gather a considerable force in the Mohawk Valley. As a matter of fact, he was joined by Sir John Johnson's rangers and by the Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant. With nearly two thousand troops he then set out to capture Fort Stanwix, now the site of Rome.

Among the substantial men of the Mohawk Valley was Nicholas Herkimer, a German veteran, who had seen much military service. Herkimer gathered about eight hundred men, and started to intercept St. Leger's troops. While on the way, Herkimer himself was surprised at Oriskany by Chief Joseph Brant and Johnson's rangers. Herkimer was mortally wounded, and by all the rules of war was badly whipped. Just at the time when he was at their mercy, however, both the Indians and the rangers turned and fled. Colonel Gansevoort, in command of Fort Stanwix, heard the firing and, suspecting trouble, sent Colonel Marinus Willett to the rescue. Willett overtook Johnson's rangers, and punished them so severely that they took no further part in the war. Most of the Mohawks deserted. After this St. Leger became frightened, abandoned his position, and retreated to Canada.

Carrying out the King's Plan ; Why Howe did not go to Albany. —

The first and second parts of the king's plan failed, and, for that matter, so did the third. There were two very good reasons why General Howe did not move his troops up the Hudson to join Burgoyne and St. Leger. During the first part of the campaign, Howe had his hands full in trying to defeat Washington ; the rest of the time he was busy trying to prevent Washington from whipping him. Moreover, it is now known that General Howe never

received positive orders to coöperate with Burgoyne and St. Leger.¹

Thus the king's plan utterly collapsed, and its failure completed the War of the Revolution so far as New York was concerned. The rest of the fighting in the state was mainly for the purpose of punishing Indians and Tories.

The Massacres at Wyoming Valley and Cherry Valley; Sullivan's Expedition. 1777-1779.—The Indians of the Six Nations, although loyal to the English, were not inclined to take any important part in the war, and there was no general uprising of the Iroquoian tribes. Nevertheless, many Indians joined with the bands of Tories and helped in the attacks on defenseless frontier villages. Some Tory rangers and Seneca Indians under Colonel Butler fell upon the settlement at Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and massacred a great many of the people. Butler also left a trail of blood and smoking ruins through the valleys of the Unadilla and Cobleskill rivers in New York. His son, with a company of rangers and Indians, attacked the villages in Cherry Valley, New York, and massacred most of the settlers there.

After this sort of warfare had been going on for nearly two



MEDAL GIVEN BY ENGLAND TO INDIAN CHIEFS IN THE REVOLUTION.

Given as rewards to the chiefs who adhered to England. It shows an Englishman and an Indian smoking a pipe of peace together.

¹ That General Howe must have known he was expected to ascend the Hudson seems certain, but it is also certain that he was permitted to use his discretion about doing so. Nevertheless, a positive order to that effect was issued from the British War Office, but not having been accurately copied it was withheld. Fortunately, or unfortunately, the paper on which hung the fortunes of Burgoyne was consigned to a pigeonhole in some one's desk and forgotten; it was not discovered until long after American independence was assured.

years, General Sullivan was ordered to put a stop to it. In 1779 he gathered a force of soldiers and carried a very vigorous campaign into the territory of the Six Nations. The Tories quickly slunk away, leaving the Indians to bear the brunt of the punishment. The punishment that Sullivan inflicted was so effectual that the Iroquoians were no longer a factor in the war. About fifty of their villages and forts were destroyed.

Clark's Conquest in the Northwest. 1778-1779.—During the war the fort at Detroit was perhaps the most important outpost



CLARK'S CAMPAIGN IN THE NORTHWEST, 1778-1779.

on the western frontier, and it was strongly garrisoned. The British military governor, Hamilton, although far away from the scene of the war, managed to stir up the Indians in the West, and planned to attack the whole western frontier. A plucky dare-devil from Virginia, Colonel George Rogers Clark, recruited several hundred men in 1778, and embarked at Pittsburg. The command made its way to the British fort at Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi River, which was readily captured. Then Clark led his riflemen eastward on a most difficult journey to Vincennes, which he captured. During two brilliant campaigns in the next

few months, he drove the British from nearly all the outposts between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, and practically won the region for the Americans. Detroit was the only important post.

The National Flag. — During the first year of the war various designs were used for the national standard. The one most commonly used had thirteen stripes, alternately red and white, with the cross of St. George (the British Union Jack) at the upper corner next the halyards. In June, 1777, the Congress ordered a blue field with thirteen white stars in the place of the cross of St. George.

France aids the Americans. 1778. — In February, 1778, the king of France not only recognized the United States as an independent power, but he also

sent troops and a fleet to the aid of the Americans. This was due partly to their success at Saratoga and partly to the fact

that Benjamin Franklin, whom the Congress had sent to France, proved a most capable counselor. Moreover, France was only too willing to hit back at her old enemy, England. What was quite as necessary to the Americans, France made a commercial alliance with them. King George felt uneasy, and offered the Americans about everything they had demanded

except independence. This offer, however, was rejected, as nothing short of independence would at that time be considered.



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.



THE AMERICAN FLAG
AS ADOPTED IN 1777.

The British evacuate Philadelphia; the Battle of Monmouth. 1778. — When General Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, learned that the French fleet was making for the American coast, he feared to remain longer at Philadelphia, and so he abandoned the city and started for New York. Washington, who had remained with his half-clad, half-starved command at Valley Forge, was on the alert, following him closely. At Monmouth, New Jersey, Washington felt safe in offering battle. It would have been a decided victory for the Americans had not General Charles Lee treacherously ordered a retreat. The British lost heavily, though Washington gained nothing. If Lafayette and Steuben had not refused to obey Lee, the American loss would have been far heavier.

Two things became apparent during the battle. In Lafayette, the Americans had a courageous field officer; moreover, the training which Baron von Steuben had given the troops during the winter at Valley Forge and the excellent organization which he had introduced into the army proved to be of the greatest value.

The battle of Monmouth was the last important fighting that occurred in the Middle states.

THE WAR IN THE SOUTH

The King's New Plan. — By the last of 1778, the king had a new plan, namely, that the royal army should start at the South, where the Tory sentiment was very strong, and sweep a clean path northward through the Middle and New England colonies.

The Capture of Savannah and Charleston. 1778–1780. — The first efforts were successful. Under General Clinton's direction Savannah was captured, and the royal governor was reinstated over Georgia. The Americans seemed unable to check the British advance. General Lincoln, who had won distinction in the American campaign about Saratoga, landed at Charleston, South Carolina, and raised an army of about three thousand recruits. A part of this force was sent to retake Savannah, but, after several battles at Augusta, the Americans were so badly beaten that scarcely five hundred men were left.

The British general, Prevost, had things pretty nearly his own way, and drove the American forces before him to Charleston.¹ General Clinton advanced by land from Savannah. Together Clinton and Prevost moved upon the city, and on May 12, 1780, they captured not only the city itself, but Lincoln and his entire force, which numbered about seven thousand. It was not a case of overwhelming odds, but one of bad judgment on the part of Lincoln; Clinton showed the better generalship.

General Gates's Defeat; Camden. 1780. — After this hard blow, another army of three thousand men was raised and placed under the command of General Gates, in August, 1780. The British forces were scattered, and had Gates followed the advice of Baron De Kalb, he could have routed them one after another. Instead, he waited; and while he was waiting, Cornwallis, with only two thousand troops, fell upon him at Camden, South Carolina. The battle was short and decisive. Many of the Americans — they had lost all confidence in Gates — ran away; most of the others were killed or captured. With the remnant of his command, Gates retreated to North Carolina.

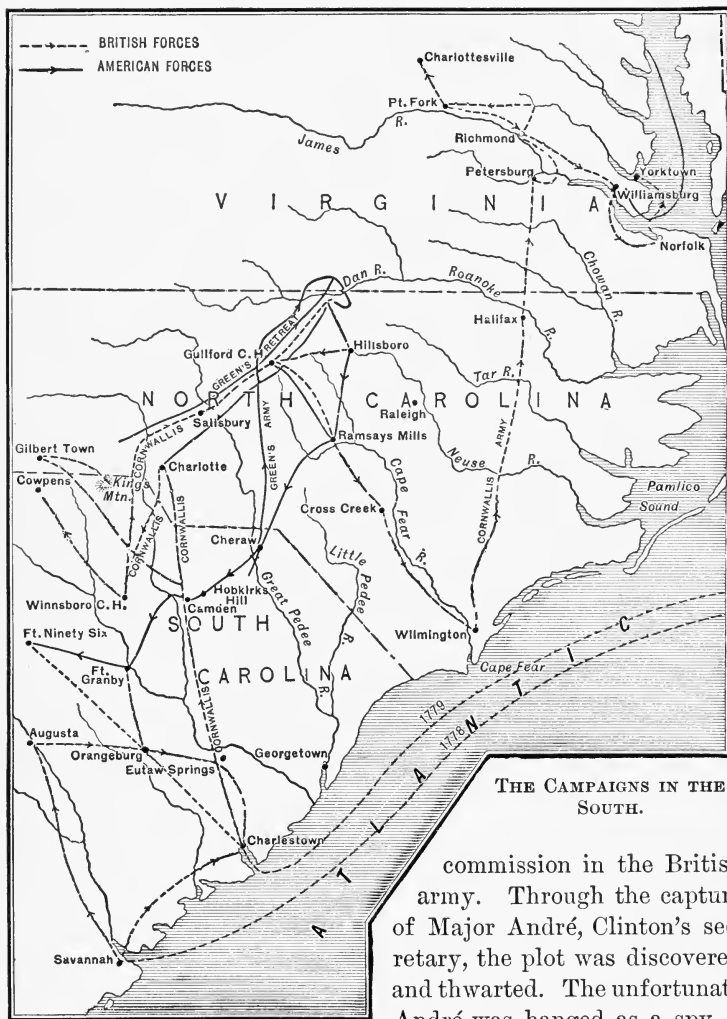
Arnold's Treason. 1780. — About this time, too, there occurred the most disheartening incident of the war. After the battle of Saratoga, Arnold, who had been severely wounded, was placed in command at Philadelphia. Like Washington, Greene, and Morgan, he had been the object of malicious intriguers; at their instigation he was courtmartialed, but the court acquitted him of all blame. During this time his pay was withheld for more than a year. In disgust he made up his mind to resign.² Washington was angry at the injustice, and at Arnold's request Washington transferred him to West Point.

Before his transfer to West Point, however, Arnold had begun the plot which was to make his name infamous forever, and his appointment to this important station gave him the opportunity

¹ During this march Prevost's troops gutted every planter's mansion and destroyed all property in sight. For this he has been unmercifully criticised. One must bear in mind, however, that his act was one of war, and that his march was not a picnic. The effect was to bring many Tories to the American side.

² Greene and Morgan had both resigned for similar causes, but had reëntered the army at Washington's request.

to carry out the plot. He negotiated with General Clinton to give up West Point to the British; for his treachery he was to receive six thousand pounds and a brigadier-general's



commission in the British army. Through the capture of Major André, Clinton's secretary, the plot was discovered and thwarted. The unfortunate André was hanged as a spy —

a cruel necessity of war; Arnold managed to escape to the British lines. After this Arnold was engaged in a pillaging expedition in Virginia; he also carried on a similar guerrilla warfare near New London, Connecticut.¹

The Mutiny at Morristown. 1780-1781. — The moral effect of Arnold's treason was great. The troops in the winter camp at Morristown, New Jersey, driven to desperation by hunger and want of clothing, began to revolt in 1780-1781. They were pacified by the personal appeal of Washington.

The Turning of American Fortunes; Greene's Campaign. 1780-1781. — After the defeat of General Gates at Camden, the British had things pretty generally their own way in South Carolina. At King's Mountain, however, a British force of eleven hundred was routed and captured by some Carolina mountaineers.

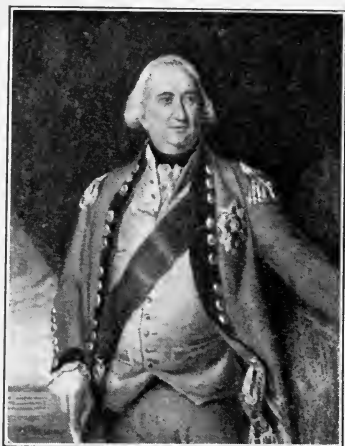
The Americans in the South were badly in need of a leader, and in time he came. General Nathanael Greene was the man, and his right-hand man was Daniel Morgan, who was already in the South. Both had been snubbed by a clique of intriguers, who had not a little influence with the Congress,² and neither one was sorry to be sent out of reach of his annoyers. With Greene was also the clever Baron Steuben. Greene got together a force of about three thousand men. One British officer called them "dirty mongrels," and most likely it was an undisciplined, motley crowd. Nevertheless, after the training which they received at the hands of Greene, Morgan, and Steuben, these same "dirty mongrels" were to bring about the humiliation of their critic.

¹ In England, Arnold was shunned as an outcast. Twenty years after his act of treason, on his deathbed, he begged to be once more clothed in the old uniform he had never forsaken, and wearing the sword knot that Washington had given him, he died.

² It is sad to contemplate the fact that there were men who were perfectly willing to sacrifice an army for the sake of political ambitions. Washington, Greene, and Morgan had suffered from their plottings, but being men of broad character, they were strong enough to ignore their enemies. One of these schemes was planned by General Gates, for the purpose of depriving Washington of the command of the army and getting the place for himself. Gates had succeeded in putting himself above General Schuyler, to the disgust of all who knew of the trickery, but when his intentions to supersede Washington became known to the people, popular opinion forced him to desist. The scheme was known as the Conway Cabal.

Greene lost no time in beginning his work. He followed the plan of Washington in New Jersey, constantly making sudden and unexpected dashes on his enemy, and quickly getting away. Marion, Sumter, "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, and William Washington, with their commands, were striking at the enemy almost day and night. At Cowpens, Morgan fell on the British force under Tarleton and nearly crushed it out of existence. In the skillful handling of men, the battle of Cowpens was one of the most brilliant of the war.

The strategy that he employed showed the good judgment of Greene. Step by step he led Cornwallis a round-about chase until the British general had been drawn far away from his supplies. At Guilford Courthouse, Greene found a favorable opportunity for attack. The battle



From the painting by Copley.

GENERAL CORNWALLIS.

was by no means a victory for the Americans, and it showed that Cornwallis was a splendid fighter; but it left him so badly crippled that he could not return south, and was compelled to get to the seaboard. He went to Virginia and was shortly afterward ordered to Yorktown peninsula, which he proceeded to fortify. Lafayette, with his troops, immediately crept upon the neck of the peninsula ready for action; Steuben followed him.

Cornwallis being out of the way, Greene turned southward and, with the help of Marion, Sumter, and Lee, drove the British and Tories before him toward Charleston. At Eutaw Springs, near Charleston, they made their last stand; they were not defeated, but their forces were crippled. They got back to Charleston under cover of the British fleet, and there they remained,

Yorktown; the Surrender of Cornwallis. 1781. — While Cornwallis was fortifying Yorktown, Washington was planning to recapture New York. For this purpose the French fleet had been ordered from the West Indies to the Chesapeake Bay in order to coöperate with him. Then it was that the cautious, retreating, slow-moving Washington made one of his characteristic lightning movements.¹ He made a feint against New York and led Clinton to think that that city was the objective point; then he moved rapidly to the head of the Chesapeake Bay, and thence took ships for a landing place near Yorktown. On the last day of August the French fleet was before Yorktown, and two weeks later Washington joined Lafayette. The trap-door was shut. There was but one thing for Cornwallis to do; he surrendered, and about eight thousand troops laid down their arms,² on October 19, 1781.



THE MONUMENT AT YORKTOWN.

In his campaigns Cornwallis had proved himself a brave soldier and a splendid fighter; he had served his king loyally and faithfully. He was the most capable general on the British side, and the bitter ending of the campaign in the South

¹ It is said that Robert Morris provided the funds for the transportation of Washington's army on about forty-eight hours' notice.

² When his troops marched out of Yorktown between the American lines, the British military band played the quaint melody, "The World turned upside Down."

reflects no discredit on him or his soldiers; it was the fortune of war.¹

The News in England. — The surrender of Cornwallis was practically the end of the war, although the British troops remained for some time in New York and Charleston. When the news of the surrender reached England, the ministry that had so long supported the king at once resigned. When next the Parliament opened (1782), George III, whose obstinacy had caused the war, announced that he was ready to grant the independence of his former colonies. During the following twelve months the British troops sailed for England. General Washington disbanded the American troops, bade farewell to his officers, and returned his commission to the Congress, then in session at Annapolis, Maryland.

The Naval Operations of the Revolutionary War. — As early as 1775, the Congress chartered several privately owned vessels to search for British ships that were to bring ammunition to America. Shortly afterward (December, 1775) the building of thirteen cruisers was ordered, six of which were built. A number of merchantmen were impressed into service and fitted with guns. A wealthy Philadelphia merchant, John Barry, gave up his business in order to take command of the squadron of converted merchantmen. In command of the *Lexington*, Barry captured several British cruisers. He proved himself such a good fighter that Lord Howe offered him a large sum of money to take a command in the British navy. At New Providence, in the Bahama Islands, Barry's squadron captured a much-needed supply of ammunition. John Paul Jones was a lieutenant on the flagship² of this fleet.

The Congress also issued "letters of marque," that is, charters, to privately owned merchantmen, licensing them to arm as privateers; and year after year these made war, with various

¹ On his return to England, Cornwallis was decorated with the Order of the Garter, and shortly afterward was made governor-general of India.

² The flagship flew a yellow silk standard, having as its device a pine tree and a coiled rattlesnake. It bore the motto, "Don't tread on me." This was the first naval flag. The flag now the standard of the country was not in existence at that time.

Capt John Barry Dated May 8th 1776

Sir

You are hereby directed to collect your Officers & Men and repair down to the Provincial Armed Ship *Cy Reed*, and supply him with as many of your People as he may want to completely man that Ship fit for Immediate Action, you will also spare any of them who may be wanted onboard the Floating Battery, onboard the Ship *Reprisal* and in short We expect the utmost exertions from you your Officers & Men in defending the Pass at Fort Island, and to prevent their coming up to this City, also that you will assist in taking sinking & destroying the Enemy if it is thought advisable to pursue them of which the Committee of this Board now down the River will judge.

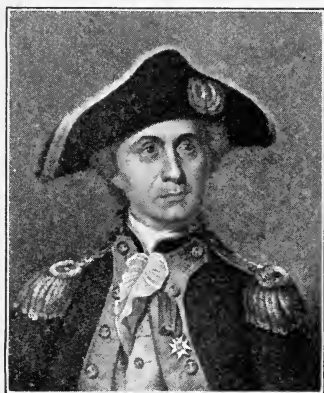
By order of the Marine Committee
 R Morris, Vice Pres

AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM ROBERT MORRIS TO CAPTAIN JOHN BARRY.

fortunes, on British commerce. Some of them went to the English coast and performed a risky service there. It was not a sort of warfare that would be permitted now, but it was considered proper at that time.

The Battle between the *Serapis* and the *Bonhomme Richard*. 1779.

— Paul Jones, although a young man, showed excellent fighting qualities. In 1779 he had command of a squadron of five ships, built mainly in France, for the purpose of capturing and destroying such English merchantmen as might be on the British coast. In September of that year, while off Flamborough Head, England, his flagship the *Bonhomme Richard*¹ was overhauled by the



PAUL JONES.

British frigate *Serapis*. Jones grappled the *Serapis* and lashed his own vessel to her. During a momentary lull in the furious conflict, the captain of the *Serapis* called out: "Have you struck your colors?" "No," replied Jones, "I have not yet begun to fight."

In three hours of most bloody fighting, nearly half of the crews of both vessels were killed or wounded. Then a gunner of the *Bonhomme Richard* crawled on a yard of the *Serapis* and into the open hatchway below threw a grenade, which exploded and killed most of the remaining crew. When, at ten o'clock at night,

the *Serapis* surrendered, only a few of her men were left alive. The *Bonhomme Richard* sank before morning, and Jones made the half-wrecked *Serapis* his flagship. After more than a year of service in foreign waters Jones reached Philadelphia.²

Finances of the Revolution.—To provide the necessary funds for carrying on the war was a most difficult task. There were no

¹ It was named after Benjamin Franklin's character "Poor Richard," whose epigrams have made "Poor Richard's Almanac" famous.

² He was made commander of a man-of-war, but the vessel was not built until peace was declared. Jones later became an admiral in the Russian navy. He died in Paris, while still a young man. His remains were recently recovered and brought from France to the United States in great honor. They are now at Annapolis.

gold mines to draw upon, and the amount of gold and silver coin on hand was small. It was difficult to borrow from foreign bankers, because the country was considered to be in rebellion. So the country proceeded to borrow from its own people, and to issue promises to pay the debt. These "promises to pay" were the same in many respects as the bank bills in use to-day, the chief difference being that there was no security to make them good. The Continental Congress authorized their issue for the first time just after the battle of Bunker

**The
Continental
currency**



THE COMBAT BETWEEN THE BONHOMME RICHARD AND THE SERAPIS.

Hill; they had not dared to do this until the emergency was great. By the close of 1779 bills to the amount of more than \$241,000,000 had been issued by the general government, each issue being made by a special act of the Congress. The states also from time to time issued similar bills amounting to more than \$210,000,000. About \$8,000,000 in gold and silver was borrowed in Europe during the war, mainly from France and the Netherlands.

The Continental currency began to lessen in face value in a very short time; in 1777 it was worth about eighty cents per silver dollar, and five years later it was worth nothing. The chief reason, perhaps, was the fact that the Continental Congress had no

legal right to issue the bills and could therefore make no valid law for the redemption of them. The whole country was flooded with counterfeits of these bills, which were printed in England and circulated in America with the knowledge of the British government. Very little of the Continental money was ever redeemed.

The real financial power of the War of the Revolution was Robert Morris. His strict integrity and wonderful ability won the confidence of bankers both at home and abroad. More than once he borrowed large sums of money on his personal security in order that the plans of General Washington might be carried out.

Robert
Morris



CURRENCY ISSUED BY NEW JERSEY.

The Treaty of Paris. 1783. — The treaty of peace was signed at Paris, September 3, 1783. Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams were the American commissioners. The treaty was ratified by the Congress a few months later, on January 14, 1784.

By this treaty Great Britain relinquished all claims to the government and territorial rights of the thirteen states. All of the region on the Atlantic coast from Canada to the "Florida country" and westward to the Mississippi River was given into the possession of the new republic. The almost unknown territory from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean was conceded to Spain. East

and West Florida, extending from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, were returned to Spain by Great Britain, which had held the territory since 1763. Under the terms of the treaty the United States had the right of free navigation of the Great Lakes, and equal rights with Great Britain to the Newfoundland fishing banks. The navigation of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth was free and open to both Great Britain and the United States. Spain at this time held the city of New Orleans.

SUMMARY

Washington endeavored to hold New York City in 1776, but was forced to retreat to New Jersey. There he weakened the British by a number of unexpected attacks, the most important of which was at Trenton.

The king's plan provided that New York State should be the field for operations. Lord Howe was to ascend the Hudson, General Burgoyne was to move southward through Lake Champlain Valley, Colonel St. Leger was to proceed eastward from Oswego. The forces were to unite and hold the Mohawk and Hudson valleys.

Burgoyne was defeated, and surrendered at Saratoga on October 17, 1777. Colonel St. Leger was defeated at Oriskany. Lord Howe did not receive his orders; moreover, he was compelled to hold Philadelphia against Washington's troops.

General Sullivan marched against the Iroquoian tribes and punished them for the massacres at Cherry and Wyoming valleys.

George Rogers Clark, with a force of men, drove the British from various outposts between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River.

The king of France recognized the Americans as an independent power and aided them with ships and troops.

After the failure of the campaign in New York, the king's ministers, in 1778, adopted the plan of invading the South, and thence pushing the troops northward.

In this plan the British were at first successful; an American army under General Lincoln and one under General Gates were badly defeated. Savannah and Charleston were captured.

The American command in the South was then given to General Greene, who inflicted a severe blow on the British at Camden. On

Yorktown peninsula Cornwallis was surrounded by Greene and Washington, with the coöperation of the French fleet. He surrendered on October 19, 1781.

The treaty of peace by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States was signed in Paris, in 1783. The treaty gave to the Americans the territory between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River, with the exception of the Florida country.

COLLATERAL READING

The American Revolution — Fiske. Vol. I, Chapters V, VI, VII; Vol. II, Chapters XIV, XV.

History of the United States — Bancroft. Vol. V, Chapters III, IV, V.





CHAPTER XII

THE FORMATION OF A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Previous Federations. — From their first settlement on the Atlantic coast the colonists had made temporary federations to defend themselves against the Indians and for other purposes. In May, 1643, delegates from the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a federation under the title of the "United Colonies" of New England, commonly called the New England Confederacy.¹ Articles of confederation were adopted and were observed until 1684, when the union was dissolved. Every year two delegates from each colony met in convention and discussed matters pertaining to the general welfare.

**The New
England
Confederacy**

In 1690, six years after the New England federation had fallen apart, trouble with the French settlers and the Indians in Canada led to the assembling, in New York City, of the first general congress of the colonies, and as a result a league was formed to carry on a campaign against the French and the Indians.

In expectation of war with Canada, then in possession of the French, a congress in Albany,² in 1754, declared that a colonial union was absolutely necessary. A plan of union was offered by Benjamin Franklin, and adopted by the congress. By this scheme, commonly known as the Albany plan, the colonies were to unite under a central government, with a president-general appointed by the British Crown and a grand council chosen by the people. All the colonial legislatures, as has been noted, rejected the plan, because in each colony the people feared that it would imperil their liberty. In England the Board of Trade, which usually acted for the king in the

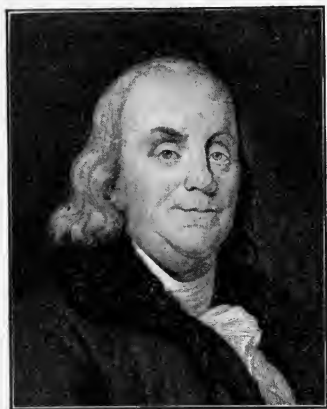
**The Albany
Congress**

¹ See page 81.

² See page 114.

government of the colonies, did not approve of this plan, because it thought the colonists would have too much liberty.

The War of the Revolution, which was in progress for nearly a year before independence was declared, had been carried on by the Continental Congress,¹ under its general authority as a revolutionary government. This Congress attended to the general affairs of the newly created nation, and did some excellent work under trying circumstances. Its powers were not defined. Since its acts were not legally binding



Benj. Franklin

on the states, it had no power to enforce them; each state individually accepted or rejected at will the advices of the Continental Congress. It was simply tolerated because the time was one which threatened the life of the nation.

The Articles of Confederation. 1777-1778. — Under these conditions the Continental Congress saw the need of a central, or federal, government, but the states for a time were reluctant to accept its advices. They remodeled their own governments, but they delayed making a central governing power because each state feared to surrender any of its authority. The experience of

the states with the British Crown had made them suspicious of a national power. They feared that the proposed government might deprive them of their rights, and this fear was not overcome for years. But because of the perils of the war for their independence, they consented to the formation of a confederation.

The "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" were approved by the Continental Congress November 15, 1777. A circular letter was then sent to each state legislature, requesting

¹ See pages 133, 141.

that its delegates in the Congress be instructed to sign the articles. The delegates of ten states signed during the next few months. New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, however, were not ready to sign because they objected to the claim of several states to the ownership of western lands. It was maintained that these lands should be held for the benefit of all the states. After considerable controversy, the states claiming these lands agreed to cede them to the United States.¹ By March 1, 1781, all the states had ratified the Articles of Confederation, and the Congress proclaimed the new government to the world. For the next eight years the thirteen United States were governed by these Articles.

The Congress of the Confederation and its Powers.—The general powers of the Congress were strictly defined in the Articles of Confederation. The Congress exercised executive, judicial, and legislative functions. The president of the Congress was the chief officer of the nation, and the chairmen of the congressional committees were the heads of the executive departments. The Congress consisted of but one house; it met annually in November, and continued in session as long as it pleased during the following twelve months. When it was not in session, the public affairs were carried on by a committee of states, consisting of one delegate from each state. Not fewer than two nor more than seven delegates could be sent to the Congress by each state, and each state had only one vote in the Congress whatever the number of its delegates. To amend the Articles of Confederation required the vote of every state.²

The Congress could declare war and peace, call upon the states



THE GREAT SEAL OF THE
UNITED STATES.

Adopted in 1782.

¹ See page 187.

² The delegates were chosen by the state legislature to serve for one year, but they could be recalled at any time and others sent in their places. No delegate could serve for more than three consecutive years. The delegates were paid by the states, the compensation ranging from ten to twenty dollars a day and expenses. The voting in Congress was done by states.

for soldiers, and build a navy. It could create an army and navy, and direct the operations of the military and naval forces. It could enter into treaties and alliances with foreign nations. It could borrow money and coin gold and silver. It could apportion among the states the money needed to pay the expenses of the government, but it could not compel a state to pay its apportionment.

The power to regulate commerce was not possessed by the Congress, and the lack of this power was a fatal weakness. It could not levy a tax of any kind on the people, or place duties on exports or imports. It could not compel the states to comply with its requisitions.

The Need of a Stronger Government ; a Grave Crisis.—It was early seen that the Federal government established by the Articles of Confederation was a complete failure. Without the power either to raise money or to compel obedience, it was, as Washington said, “a half-starved, limping government, always moving upon crutches and tottering at every step.” Undoubtedly the Congress of the Confederation conducted affairs as best it could, but it could not make an efficient government while it lacked governing powers.

Moreover, the states did not properly sustain the Federal government they had created. After the Revolution there was a disposition to treat the Federal authority with indifference, if not with contempt. The times were very hard through the country, and all the industries were depressed. Not much gold and silver were in circulation, and the paper money issued by the Congress had little value at home and no purchasing power abroad.¹

¹ To add to the confusion, from most of the states there came a demand for the increased issue of paper money, in order to meet the emergency caused by the lack of gold and silver coin. In the Carolinas the bills that were issued immediately fell in value, until the merchants refused to take them. In Georgia a law was passed compelling people to take them, but its only effect was to make the bills valueless. In New York and New Jersey the “rag money,” as it was called, caused very heavy losses. In Rhode Island the farmers, who were chiefly responsible for the rag money in that state, attempted to boycott the merchants who refused to take it, with the result that mobs and riots prevailed all over the state. As in the other states, the only result was the lowering of the value of the money until it was practically worthless. One dollar in good coin was equivalent at

The patriotism of the revolutionary days for a time seemed to be gone. Each state seemed to think it had enough to do in looking after its own affairs; therefore the affairs of the nation were neglected. Some of the states expressed their contempt for the Congress by sending no delegates to it. It was very apparent that there must be a stronger central government, or the new American republic would cease to exist.

During the War of the Revolution, the Congress had borrowed considerable sums of money from capitalists in France, Holland, and elsewhere. But after the war had closed, the national finances were in such a bad state that the money lenders would not give gold and silver in exchange for the government's promises. The Congress was obliged to depend on the states for the means to pay the expenses of the government, and the failure of the states to provide the means caused serious embarrassments. The interest on the public debt was not paid, and other obligations were unsatisfied.

**Financial
weakness**

It was thought that if the Congress had power to levy direct taxes and duties on imports, much of the weakness of the Federal government would be removed, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to secure this power. The Congress then asked the states for power to levy a duty of five per cent on imports for twenty-five years, the money to be used in paying the interest on the public debt. The proposition was favored by all the states except New York, but through this opposition the plan failed.

Treaties with foreign powers were frequently violated in the ports of some states, and the Congress was powerless in the matter. Each state had its own system of export and import duties. The result was a very bad condition of affairs. Merchants trading along the Atlantic coast as well as those trading with foreign lands were seriously affected by it. When the states had entered the Confederation, they had retained the right to regulate their own commerce. For this reason the Congress could do nothing to improve matters. Once

**Commercial
troubles**

one time to about five hundred currency dollars. A majority of the people had not learned the wholesome lesson that legislative bodies cannot create something with value out of nothing.

there was an effort to get the consent of the states to a national commercial system, but they refused to consider the subject. Merchandise and agricultural products shipped from one state to another were heavily taxed, and this naturally caused a great deal of bad feeling.¹

It was, indeed, a critical period. The union of the states, which had been formed under the pressure of a common danger, had now become a very loose one. Each state was virtually independent, and it heeded the Federal government or not, as it pleased. European statesmen had no confidence whatever in the stability of the Federal union. Wise leaders in America saw that the states would fall apart and become separate communities, unless the powers of the Federal government were extended. They strove to secure from the states concessions which would give strength to the nation and prevent its dissolution.

**Danger of
disunion**



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

Here the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were signed.

The Annapolis Convention. 1786. — In 1785 the Virginia Assembly passed a resolution inviting the states to send delegates to a con-

¹ This was especially true of produce shipped from Connecticut and from New Jersey to New York City; a great deal of smuggling and fighting resulted.

vention to be held at Annapolis, in order to consider a national system for the regulation of commerce. When the convention met the next year, only five states were represented, and therefore the consideration of commercial regulations was postponed. The delegates, however, adopted an address written by Alexander Hamilton, recommending to the states that a convention be held at Philadelphia, to take such steps as might render the Articles of Confederation effective. The states generally approved, and the Congress authorized that the convention be held.

The Federal Convention. 1787. — The Federal convention, called in May, 1787, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, was composed of delegates from all the states except Rhode Island. Washington was unanimously chosen its president.¹ Instead of revising the Articles of Confederation the convention decided at once to devise a new system of government which would be adequate, not only to the present need of the republic, but to the future as well.²

¹ All the proceedings were secret, and little was known of them for a long time. Eventually, the official records and the notes of the debates made by James Madison and others were published.

² Four plans of government came before the convention.

The Virginia plan, presented by Edmund Randolph, the governor of Virginia, was prepared mainly by James Madison. It proposed a national government to be so conducted "that the idea of states should be reduced to a minimum"; it should have every power necessary to make it an efficient central government, including the power to tax and to enforce the laws. The Congress, consisting of two branches, was also to have a veto on state legislation. A national executive, appointed by the Congress, was to have power to carry on the affairs of the government.

The South Carolina plan had some of the features of the Virginia plan, and some that were original. Its most distinctive feature was a provision for a "President of the United States of America" who was to be called "his Excellency."

The New Jersey plan proposed what was scarcely more than a revision of the Articles of Confederation. The Congress was to remain a single body, but was to have the power of taxation and to regulate foreign and domestic commerce. There was to be an executive council, and also United States courts.

The fourth plan was offered by Alexander Hamilton of New York. His plan proposed a congress of two houses, with legislative power sufficient to administer national affairs. A "Chief Executive," to hold office for life, was to have the "supreme executive authority."

The four plans were thoroughly discussed. The convention discarded Hamilton's and New Jersey's plans and eventually accepted the best features of the other two plans.

Making the Constitution. 1787. — The ground plan of the Constitution that gradually took shape provided that the government should be vested in —

A legislative body, or Congress, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. In the Senate each state should have two members; in the House of Representatives the number of members should be in proportion to the population of the state.

An executive body consisting of a President and a Vice-President.
A judicial body consisting of a supreme court and various inferior courts.

It was also conceded, after a long discussion, that—

Five slaves should be counted as three freemen in estimating the population for apportioning representatives.

The Congress might regulate foreign commerce.

Exports should not be taxed.

The importation of slaves should not be forbidden before 1808.

Finally the work was finished. On September 17, 1787, the Constitution was signed by George Washington as president of the convention and by thirty-eight of the delegates. The other sixteen would not sign because they objected to cer-



THE AUTOGRAPH OF WASHINGTON.

tain clauses which they believed interfered with the rights of the states.

The People's Conventions. 1787–1788. — In each state, except Rhode Island,¹ a convention of delegates chosen by the people was held for the purpose of ratifying or rejecting the Constitution. There was more or less opposition to the new plan of government in most of the conventions, and in some of them the opposition was very strong; in the main, it arose from the fear of giving too much power to the Federal government. The people had not

¹ In Rhode Island the Constitution was submitted to the freemen at town meetings.

forgotten the tyranny of George III. But by the last of June, 1788, the people of nine states (the necessary two thirds majority) had ratified the Constitution.¹



Redrawn from an old print.

CELEBRATING THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The picture represents a procession in New York City, of which the most imposing part was the "Ship of State" on wheels.

On the 20th of September, 1788, the new Constitution was presented to the Congress of the Confederation then sitting in the

¹ Delaware was the first state to ratify by a unanimous vote. Nine other states ratified shortly afterward. When Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York ratified, they recommended various amendments to the Constitution, which they regarded as "necessary to remove the fears and allay the apprehensions of the people." After the constitutional government had been in operation for some time, the people of North Carolina and Rhode Island changed their minds and ratified the Constitution. They had been practically out of the Union. The dates and order of ratification are : Delaware, December 6, 1787; Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787; New Jersey, December 18, 1787; Georgia, January 2, 1788; Connecticut, January 9, 1788; Massachusetts, February 6, 1788; Maryland, April 28, 1788; South Carolina, May 23, 1788; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788; Virginia, June 25, 1788; New York, July 26, 1788; North Carolina, November 21, 1789; Rhode Island, May 29, 1790:

City Hall in New York. The Congress accepted it and ordered that the government under the present Constitution should begin its existence on the 4th of March, 1789, in the city of New York.¹

The National Domain in 1783. — At the close of the War of the Revolution, the United States was practically without definite limits or boundaries, except the one that nature had created on the Atlantic coast. The boundaries between the states were not wholly settled for about a century, while the settlement of the national boundary caused international disputes for more than a century.

The treaty of Paris gave to the Americans an area less than one third the present area of the main body of the United States. The northern boundary, from the eastern point of Maine to the Lake of the Woods, was approximately the boundary of to-day. The British claimed a narrow strip on the southern border of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. Spain owned Florida and the great region west of the Mississippi. Taking advantage of the weakness of the United States, she seized the area comprised in the present states of Mississippi and Alabama, and held it for some twelve years.

Territorial Claims of the States. — South of Virginia, which then included the present state of Kentucky, the region belonged mainly to North Carolina and Georgia, but South Carolina also claimed a narrow strip; all these states claimed the land westward to the Mississippi, although Spain occupied the part of it that was included in Florida. Concerning the land south of the Ohio River there was little dispute.

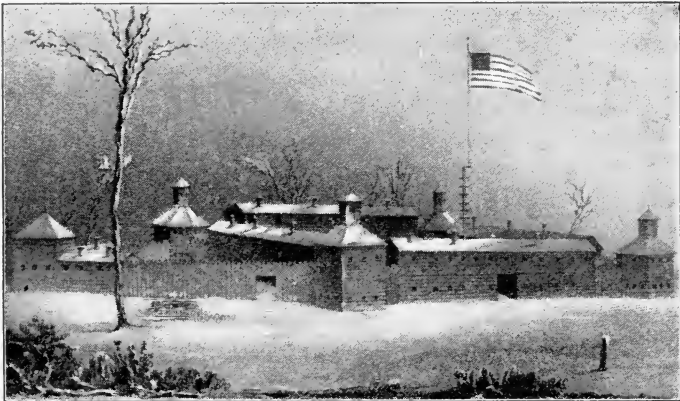
The "territory northwest of the Ohio" was claimed in part by several states. Directly after the Revolution there was considerable emigration to the little-known country northwest of the Ohio River. This Northwest Territory, as it was called, had been reserved by Great Britain after the close of the French and Indian War as "Crown lands,"

¹ The establishment of the new government was an act of revolution for the reason that provision was made that it should go into effect without the approval of two states. The convention of 1787 had no authority to provide the means of setting aside the Articles of Confederation except by the unanimous consent of the states in the confederation. .

exclusively for the Indians, and the American colonists were forbidden to occupy it. During the War of the Revolution, however, Virginia troops under George Rogers Clark took possession of it, and it was therefore held by right of conquest.¹

At first the greater part of the territory was claimed by Virginia under her original charter; Massachusetts and Connecticut also claimed, under their charters, some portion of the region; and New York, by reason of treaties made with the Indians, laid claim to a very large tract.

Land
cessions



FORT WASHINGTON IN 1789.

This fort, built for the protection of settlers in the Northwest Territory, was the beginning of Cincinnati.

Each of the other states demanded some of this land, and strongly resisted the claims of the four states. The four states finally (1781–1786) agreed to surrender their claims to the general government, on a pledge from the Congress of the Confederation that the lands should be formed into states, which should “become members of the union, and have the same rights as the other states.”

The Ordinance of 1787.—Emigrants from the states settled in the fertile lands of the Northwest Territory in increasing numbers

¹ See page 162.

from year to year. The Congress planned a form of government for this territory which, for the greater part, is still used in governing the territories of the United States. This plan of government was set forth in an ordinance passed in 1787.

Jefferson was very desirous that slavery should be prohibited in the new territory,¹ and the Congress of the Confederation included in the Ordinance of 1787 a provision forbidding slaveholding anywhere within the Northwest Territory. The First Congress² of the United States under the new Constitution (1789) confirmed this ordinance.

The exclusion of slavery from the Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787 was far-reaching in its effects. There were many who declared that the Congress had no right or power under the Articles of Confederation to pass such an act, yet there was scarcely a protest against it throughout the country.³ It fully illustrates the proposition that, unless a central government has broad powers, in a time of emergency it is very apt to take them, whether constitutional or not.

SUMMARY

Every attempt to organize a federation of the colonies with any centralized governing power was resisted by the colonists.

From 1774 to 1781 the general conduct of the war was directed by the various Continental Congresses.

From 1781 to 1789 the Congress was subject to the Articles of Confederation. Under these the Congress had no power to direct commercial affairs or to raise money by taxation. Abroad, there was no faith in the stability of the Union; at home, the country was drifting toward anarchy.

In 1785 the Virginia Assembly arranged for a convention which was

¹ In 1784 Jefferson introduced in the Congress an ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, with a provision for the exclusion of slavery, but the Congress rejected that clause.

² Since the adoption of the present Constitution each Congress is designated by number.

³ Some years later a number of petitions were sent to the Congress from Indiana and Illinois by those who favored the introduction of slavery, asking for the suspension or the repeal of the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787. In each case the Congress declined to grant the petition.

held the next year at Annapolis, at which only five states were represented. This convention asked for a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation.

The Federal Convention, which met in May, 1787, prepared the Constitution of the United States, which was ratified by the states.

The Congress of the Confederation ordered that the government of the United States under the present Constitution should begin March 4, 1789.

Various states claimed the territory northwest of the Ohio River, but they yielded their claims and gave the lands to the general government to be made later into new states.

The Congress of the Confederation passed the Ordinance of 1787 providing for the government of the Northwest Territory and forbidding slavery within its area. The First Congress of the United States confirmed this ordinance.

COLLATERAL READING

Critical Period of American History—Fiske. Chapters IV, VI.

Constitution of the United States—Appendix, page 8.

CHAPTER XIII

STARTING THE WHEELS OF GOVERNMENT AND ADJUSTING INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The Election of Washington and Adams. 1789. — On March 4, 1789, eight senators and thirteen representatives of the new Congress assembled in the City Hall of New York City, and on the 6th of April the Congress was ready for business. On that day the Senate and the House of Representatives assembled

in joint session, and the votes cast by the presidential electors in the several states were opened and counted.¹ The count showed that George Washington was elected President, and John Adams Vice-President.

On the 21st of April Adams was installed

as Vice-President, and on the 30th Washington was inaugurated as President. He took the oath of office on the balcony of the City Hall in the presence of thousands of spectators. Afterward he



From an old print.

THE OLD CITY HALL, NEW YORK CITY.

¹ The system adopted for the election of the President was peculiar. The people were to vote for electors, not directly for the President. Each state should choose as many electors as it had senators and representatives in the Congress. The electors of each state by themselves were to vote for two men for President. The man receiving the majority of votes from the electors became President, and the man receiving the next largest number became Vice-President. (See page 206.)

delivered an inaugural address in the Senate Chamber. Thus the new Federal government was happily begun.

First Acts of the Congress; the First Tariff. 1789. — During its first months the Congress was busily engaged in arranging the details of the new system of government. The first thing was to provide a way by which the government could pay its current expenses and the debts which had come to it from the old confederation. To raise the money for these purposes an act was passed putting duties on articles of foreign manufacture. In the preamble of the act it was stated that the tariff was "necessary for the support of the government, and for the encouragement and protection of manufactures." This was the first tariff act, and the beginning of the policy of protection to American manufactures. Another act was passed placing duties on the tonnage of vessels bringing merchandise to the United States. Foreign-built vessels were taxed fifty cents a ton, but American-built vessels only six cents a ton. This discrimination was intended to encourage home shipbuilding.

Executive Departments. — Three departments to carry on the executive work of the government were created by the Congress. The Department of Foreign Affairs was at once established; afterward the name was changed to the Department of State, and its head was called the secretary of state. The President appointed to this office Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, then United States minister to France.

The second department created was the War Department, which was to have charge of military affairs. General Henry Knox of Massachusetts, a famous soldier, was made the head of the department, with the title of secretary of war.

The Treasury Department was the third department created, and to it was given the management of the government's finances. Alexander Hamilton,¹ a brilliant lawyer of New York, was ap-

¹ ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1757-1804) was born on the island of Nevis, West Indies. He was educated at King's College (Columbia University). He served in the Revolution as Washington's aid-de-camp, winning distinction at Yorktown. More than any one else he was influential in the framing and adoption of the Constitution. In 1789 Washington appointed him secretary of the treasury. In 1799 he was chosen commander-in-chief of the army. He was killed in a duel

pointed to the office of secretary. Hamilton at once devised a remarkable system for the transaction of the business of the department — a system so complete that much of it has been retained to this day. He was secretary of the treasury for five years, and in that time put the finances of the government on a sound basis.

The heads of the three executive departments, together with the attorney-general, were the President's advisers.¹

The Federal Courts. — By the Judiciary Act, the Congress established United States courts in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, creating a Federal judiciary. A Supreme Court of the United States, which was to be the highest legal tribunal in the country, and a number of circuit and district courts were established. It was provided that the Supreme Court should have a chief justice and five associate justices. John Jay of New York was appointed chief justice.

Amendments to the Constitution. 1791. — Early in the session of the First Congress a number of amendments to the Constitution were offered by members from New York, Virginia, and other states. There was a long debate over these proposed amendments. Finally, twelve of them were adopted by the Congress, and, in accordance with the constitutional provision for amendment, were laid before the states to be ratified. The states ratified ten amendments, and on December 15, 1791, they became a part of the Constitution. These amendments were intended to satisfy the people who had demanded them before the Constitution was adopted. Among other things they prohibited the Congress from interfering with freedom of religious worship, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. They constituted practically a bill of rights.²

The Public Debt. — In 1790 Alexander Hamilton, the secretary with Aaron Burr. Hamilton combined with brilliancy, grace, and vigor, a wonderfully logical and penetrating mind.

¹ The heads of departments at first met informally for consultation with the President. In his second term Washington called them together regularly, and out of this practice grew the present system of cabinet meetings, at which the President and the secretaries of departments regularly advise together.

² See Appendix, page 20.

of the treasury, submitted a report showing that the nation owed at home and abroad the enormous sum of \$54,124,463, of which the foreign debt was \$11,710,378. Hamilton urged the Congress to arrange a plan for paying this indebtedness in full, with interest. He declared that if this were done the national credit, then in a very low state, would eventually become equal to that of any country in Europe. Little opposition was made in the Congress to paying the foreign indebtedness. There was great opposition, however, to paying the domestic debt. It was declared by many members of the Congress that much of the domestic debt would be paid to speculators who had bought the securities at a low price, and who would make an immense profit if the securities should be paid in full. Therefore it was argued that it would not be right to pay dollar for dollar for this portion of the public debt. The majority admitted this fact, but held that the Congress had no right to refuse the payment of a single dollar of indebtedness because speculators had taken advantage of the nation's financial distress. There was a long debate about the matter in the Congress; but it was decided to do as Hamilton had recommended. The Congress arranged a plan by which payment of the entire indebtedness of the nation, both principal and interest, was to be made out of moneys received from the sale of public lands and from the surplus of import duties.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

In addition to the foreign and domestic debts, there were debts amounting to about \$21,000,000 which the states had incurred in carrying on the War of the Revolution. Hamilton proposed that the Federal government should pay these state debts. This proposal was violently opposed. Finally, when the question of the

location of the Federal capital was under discussion, a compromise was made; a few Southern congressmen gave their votes in favor of the assumption of state debts provided the capital should be located on the Potomac. It was decided (1790) that the government should remove from New York to Philadelphia, there to remain for ten years, and then (1800) it should be permanently located in the region on the Potomac River now known as the District of Columbia.¹

A Federal Bank. 1791.—A plan to establish a Bank of the United States was presented to the Congress by Secretary Hamilton, who believed that such an institution would be of great benefit to the government in its financial operations. At this time the Treasury Department used private banks as places of deposit, because the Congress had provided no treasury for the safe-keeping of the government funds.

Hamilton's measure had many opponents on the ground that the Congress had no power under the Constitution to establish a national bank. The National Bank Act, however, was passed by the Congress and was approved by President Washington. Before signing the bill Washington got the written opinions of Hamilton and Jefferson as to its constitutionality. Hamilton said that the Bank measure was constitutional, while Jefferson maintained that it was unconstitutional; Washington accepted Hamilton's view.

The Bank of the United States was accordingly chartered in 1791 for twenty years, and was shortly afterward established at Philadelphia. During its existence of twenty years it handled nearly all the government money, and was of great assistance to the Treasury Department.

The United States Mint.—Up to the time of the War of the Revolution, English coins mainly were used in business transactions. Spanish and Dutch coins were common, and the Spanish "milled dollar"² for a time was standard money. During the war, and for some time afterward, almost anything in the way of

¹ Maryland, in 1788, and Virginia, in 1789, ceded land to a total area of one hundred square miles to make the District of Columbia.

² So named from the raised rim, or edge, which prevented defacement.

a coin would pass. A great deal of "scrip," or paper money, was also issued by the various states, and much of it was never redeemed.

The Constitution forbade the states to coin money, and so it became necessary to take steps for a national coinage. The Congress therefore provided (1792) a mint at Philadelphia, to which any one might take gold or silver and have it refined and made into coins free of charge. It was also provided that the value of gold should be, weight for weight, just fifteen times that of silver; that is, the ratio was fifteen to one.¹



A SILVER PENNY OF 1792.²

The First Political Parties. — The passage of the National Bank Act drew clearly the lines between two political parties that had already been existing for some time. The followers of Hamilton were known as Federalists. They desired that the Federal government should have strong authority, and therefore that the powers granted it in the Constitution should be broadly construed; they were called "loose constructionists."

The Federalists



AN EARLY AMERICAN COIN.³

Those who held the same views as Thomas Jefferson were called Anti-federalists. They were "strict constructionists," and favored the plan of making the state, rather than the Federal government, the stronger power. The Anti-federalists were continually battling against the extension

The Anti-federalists

of the power of the national government. They interpreted the Constitution strictly according to its terms, and would not concede to the Federalists the right to do otherwise.

¹ It was subsequently made sixteen to one.

² This coin bore on one side a portrait of Washington. He objected to this, and it was therefore ordered that "an impression emblematic of Liberty" should be substituted for the head of the President.

³ The other side of the coin bears a head of Washington. The coin was used in trade with England, and was called the Liverpool halfpenny.

New States. 1791-1802. — Just after the beginning of the War of the Revolution the people of Vermont were refused recognition in the Continental Congress, on the ground that Vermont was not a separate colony. As a matter of fact the region was claimed by both New York and New Hampshire. The freemen therefore declared themselves (1777) a sovereign state under the name of "New Connecticut, *alias* Vermont." In the course of a few years, however, the claims of these states were settled, New York receiving \$30,000 for lands which she claimed. Vermont was admitted to the Union in 1791, and was the fourteenth state.

The Kentucky region was a part of Virginia. The Virginians were willing to give up the region to the general government, but they were unwilling to have slavery excluded, according to the provisions made for the Northwest Territory in the Ordinance of 1787. Kentucky finally, with slavery, came into the Union as the fifteenth state, in 1792.

The region of Tennessee was claimed by North Carolina, and when the latter expressed a willingness to cede her claims to the general government, under the Ordinance of 1787, the Tennesseans would have none of it, because it interfered with slavery. They organized a state of their own, naming

it Franklin. Some of the people objected to this, and declared that they were still a part of North Carolina. The North Carolina party finally prevailed, and the state of Franklin was abandoned.



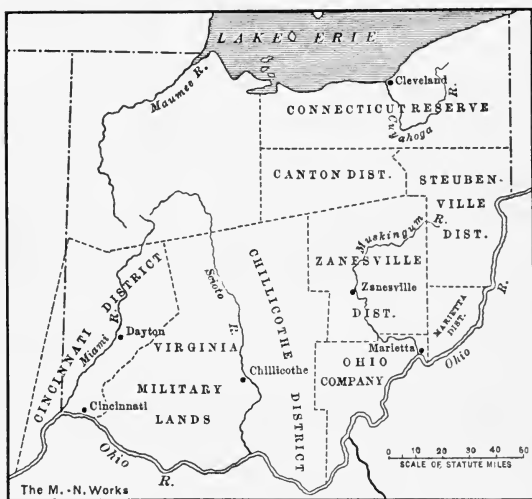
PIONEERS TRAVELING BY FLATBOAT ON THE OHIO RIVER.

With the consent of North Carolina, Tennessee was admitted to the Union in 1796, as the sixteenth state.

Within a few months after the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, the Congress sold five million acres of the northwestern lands to

individuals and companies. The money received from the sale was used to pay some of the pressing indebtedness of the Federal government. Among the buyers of the lands was the famous Ohio Company, which purchased at a low price a tract of a million and a half acres of rich lands between the Ohio River and Lake Erie. Through its efforts thousands of intelligent, thrifty people from many parts of the Eastern states emigrated to the Northwest Territory, and established settlements there.

Ohio

THE DISTRICTS OF OHIO.¹

In 1800 the territory was divided, and Indiana Territory² was organized, with its seat of government at Vincennes. In 1802 the settlers were able to organize the state of Ohio, and have it admitted to the Union. Ohio, the seventeenth state, was the first of the several states which were formed out of the Northwest Territory.

The Presidential Election of 1792.—In the summer of 1792 Washington was requested by leading members of both political

¹ The area of the present state of Ohio was settled by various land companies which purchased districts. When Connecticut ceded her western land claims to the Federal government in 1786, she reserved a section known as the Western Reserve. Part of this land the state gave to certain citizens, and part was sold to a land company. Virginia, likewise, reserved a section to be used to pay her revolutionary soldiers. The Ohio Company was a New England organization directed by the Rev. Manasseh Cutler of Massachusetts.

² See map on page 228.

parties to accept another term of office. He consented, and was duly reelected without opposition. The vice-presidency, however, was contested. John Adams was the Federalist candidate, and George Clinton of New York was the Anti-federalist candidate. Adams was elected.

The Fugitive-Slave Law. 1793.—The first fugitive-slave law was enacted by the Congress in 1793. By this law the owner of an escaping slave might seize the slave anywhere in the United States that he might be found. Upon proof that the person seized was a fugitive slave, he was to be returned to the state or territory from which he had escaped. Any one who might hinder the return of a fugitive slave should pay a fine of \$500.

The French Revolution and the Proclamation of Neutrality. 1789–1793.—The revolution in France, which began in 1789, caused a great deal of trouble for the United States. At first the people of the United States had a strong sympathy for the revolutionists. Aid had been given by the French people to the Americans in the War for Independence, and naturally there was a desire to support the French Revolution. But as the revolution went on, the cruelty shown in the conduct of affairs in France diminished the sympathy of the Americans. So, when it was proposed that the United States should become an ally of France in the war against England, in 1793, the Federalists strongly opposed it. The Anti-federalists, at this time known as Democratic-Republicans, contended that the treaty of 1778 between the two countries¹ was still in force, and therefore the United States was in honor bound to aid France in her war with England.

The Federalists urged the President to proclaim the neutrality of the United States. They took the ground that the treaty had been made with King Louis XVI, and therefore was annulled when he had been deposed by the revolutionists. Washington accepted this view and issued a proclamation of neutrality (April 22, 1793). The citizens were warned not to protect any one who might draw punishment on himself by aiding either of the powers at war.

¹ See page 163.

The proclamation caused great excitement throughout the country. Those who favored the cause of France bitterly denounced Washington, and it was asserted that he had no right to proclaim neutrality. It was even said that he was an enemy to France.

The Genet Affair. 1793.—Shortly afterward the new French Republic sent an ambassador, "Citizen" Edmund Charles Genet, to the United States. It was a very unwise choice; for several months Genet's audacious actions caused annoyance and embarrassment to the administration. He landed at Charleston, South Carolina, and at once began to enlist men and fit out ships for the French service, and to do other unlawful acts. When he went to Philadelphia, then the seat of the government, he was requested by Secretary Jefferson to stop his illegal actions. But he, nevertheless, persisted in violations of neutrality. He commissioned privateers to capture English ships, and planned hostile expeditions against Florida and New Orleans, then held by Spain.

Many of the Democratic-Republicans encouraged Genet, and he seemed to think he could do as he pleased. At last Washington demanded that France should recall him, which was done. The Congress approved of Washington's course, and passed an act giving greater effect to the neutrality proclamation.

Unpleasant Relations with England.—It was not long before the commercial interests of the United States began to be seriously affected by the European war. In November, 1793, England ordered the capture of all vessels carrying supplies to France or to the French colonies in the West Indies, as she had a perfect right to do. The order bore heavily on the merchants of the United States, who then had a very large ocean carrying trade. In a number of instances United States merchant vessels disregarded the neutral position of this country and, while trying to carry grain to France, were seized by British men of war. But the British went further than this; they deliberately took American seamen from our ships and forced them to serve in the British navy. This outrage called forth loud cries for war with Great Britain. Many of the Federalists joined with the Democratic-Republicans;

a very bitter feeling against Great Britain prevailed, and war seemed certain.

England in turn accused the United States of not assisting the Tories to regain possession of their confiscated estates,¹ and of failing to require American merchants to pay the debts they had owed in England at the breaking out of the war in 1776. These charges in the main were true, but they had nothing to do with the question at issue. On the other hand, the United States complained that British troops had continued to occupy the military posts on the great western lakes, and that the Indians had been incited to make raids on the frontier settlements.

Jay's Treaty. 1794. — Washington desired to save the country



J. Jay —

from war by all honorable means, and he therefore sent Chief Justice John Jay to England to negotiate a treaty. Jay was a very able statesman and he was received in England with marked respect. England regarded the United States as a weak country and would make almost no concessions in the negotiations. The terms offered were far from satisfactory; but Jay thought it would be best to accept the treaty, for it would at least secure peace and certain commercial advantages. The treaty was laid before the Senate, and

ratified after a long, earnest debate. When it was published, it was received with violent opposition; the newspapers attacked Washington, and the populace hanged and burned effigies of Jay. Washington thought it would be unwise to reject the treaty,² as it

¹ During the Revolution the Tories in New York City occupied the houses of people who sympathized with the war. After the war these Tories were persecuted and deprived of their possessions.

² Washington was most shamefully abused for taking this stand. In less than a year, however, the treaty, which he was so severely condemned for signing, proved to be such a decided benefit to the country that his wisdom in signing it was apparent to all.

was the first important act of the king of England to establish friendly relations with the United States since the Revolution.

The treaty ignored the question of the impressment of American sailors into British naval service. It provided that—

The western military posts in the United States territory should be surrendered to the United States.

Payment should be made for the seizure of American ships.

Commercial regulations between the two countries should be arranged.

Commerce was to be allowed with the British West Indies under certain restrictions.

The United States was to set aside \$3,000,000 to pay the claims of British merchants.

The Whisky Insurrection. 1794.—The national government had occasion to prove its strength when the farmers of western Pennsylvania offered the first armed resistance to its laws. These farmers were dependent for their prosperity on the whisky which they manufactured, and when a tax was laid on whisky they refused to pay it and drove away the tax collectors. President Washington ordered the militia to the scene and the Pennsylvanians submitted.

The Spanish Territorial Claims Adjusted. 1795.—After long negotiations, a treaty was made with Spain in 1795. The treaty fixed the boundaries between the United States and the possessions of Spain in the region of the present states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida; secured to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi; and gave to American ships the right to use New Orleans as a place of deposit of merchandise.

Washington retires from Public Service. 1797.—Six months before the end of Washington's second term as President, he announced his determination to retire forever from the public service. The Federalists had urged him to accept a third term, but he had refused, asserting that such a policy would establish an unsafe precedent; and to this day the precedent thus established is stronger than law. Shortly before the close of his administration, he issued a farewell address to the people of the United States, containing counsels which have ever since been revered.

For many years Washington had been the foremost man in America, the most beloved, and the most influential. He had striven to establish the new federal government on broad and enduring lines. During the eight years of his presidency, differences with foreign nations had been settled, the public credit had been restored and strengthened, and a wonderful impetus had been given to American industries and commerce. He had seen the United States become a prosperous nation of four million people.

Adams elected President. 1797. — There had been no contest over Washington's first or second election. Long before the third election, however, both of the political parties chose candidates. The Federalists favored John Adams¹ of Massachusetts, then the Vice-President. The Democratic-Republicans desired Thomas Jefferson of Virginia. There was an active campaign, and the contest resulted in the election of Adams. Jefferson became Vice-President.

John Adams

THE AUTOGRAPH OF ADAMS.

Trouble with France. 1797–1799. — Soon after the inauguration of President Adams, there was further trouble with France, then governed by a revolutionary government called the Directory. The French government was displeased at Jay's treaty with England, and in retaliation adopted commercial regulations which were hurtful to the ocean carrying trade of the United States. In certain cases, the seizure and confiscation of American ships were authorized. The American minister was ordered to quit France, and it was declared that the French Republic did not desire further relations with the United States.

The excitement created by the action of the French govern-

¹ JOHN ADAMS (1735–1826) was a native of Quincy, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Harvard College. He was already a lawyer of note when he was appointed to the Continental Congress of 1774 and 1775. In 1777 he was sent as commissioner to France, and later was chosen one of the three negotiators of the treaty with Great Britain (1782–1783). For three years he was minister to London. On his return to America he was elected Vice-President (1789–1797), and in 1796, President. At the close of his administration he retired to his farm at Quincy (1801). While his impatient, combative disposition won him many enemies, he was held in high trust and esteem because of his sincerity and generosity of purpose.

ment caused President Adams to call the Congress in special session, in order that it might arrange effectual measures of defense in case of war. A special mission was sent to France to make peace, but the government would not receive the envoys. They were met, however, by the secret agents of Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs,¹ who informed them that before they could begin negotiations for a treaty, it would be necessary to give \$250,000 to the Directory for its private use. They were also informed that the loan by the United States to France of at least \$6,000,000 would be the first condition of a treaty. The envoys positively refused to give any money to the Directory. They treated with utter contempt the proposition to buy a treaty. One of the envoys, Charles Pinckney, is said to have exclaimed, "Millions for defense; not one cent for tribute!" The commission remained in Paris for several months, but accomplished nothing.

**The X.Y.Z.
mission**

The failure of the mission to France made war seem inevitable. The great mass of the American people had the war spirit, and fully sustained the government in its preparations for hostilities. The Congress ordered the formation of a small army, and Washington was prevailed upon to take its command. A Department of the Navy was created, and provision was made for a naval force. All treaties with France were declared void, and intercourse with that country was suspended. Naval hostilities between the two nations were actually begun, and the fighting ships of the small navy made such a good showing that the Directory at once changed its attitude.

In November, 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte, the famous soldier, brought about the overthrow of the Directory and had himself made the chief ruler of France, under the title of consul. A second commission sent by President Adams then obtained a satisfactory treaty.

War averted

The Alien and Sedition Laws. 1798.—The trouble with France was the occasion for the enactment, early in 1798, of what were called the Alien and Sedition laws. Agents of the French

¹ Talleyrand's secret agents were known by the initials X., Y., and Z., and therefore the mission of the American envoys came to be called the X.Y.Z. mission.

Directory were everywhere in the United States working in the interest of their government. They continually published abusive articles about President Adams and the Congress, and sought in many ways to induce the people to oppose the lawful authorities. The Alien and Sedition laws were passed in order to check the influence of these French emissaries.

The Alien Act authorized the President, at any time during the next two years, to order out of the country any alien ¹ whose presence he judged to be dangerous to its peace and safety, or any one concerned in treasonable actions against the government. An alien who should refuse to obey such an order to depart might be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years.

The Sedition Act provided that any person who should oppose a law of the land, or who should prevent an officer of the government from performing his duty, should be punished by a fine not exceeding \$5000 and by imprisonment. The law provided also that any person who should publish any false or malicious writings against the government, or either house of the Congress, or the President, should be punished by fine and imprisonment.

These laws were very generally condemned. To give the President the authority to send aliens out of the country without a legal trial was considered dangerous. The Sedition Act also was obnoxious, inasmuch as it interfered with the constitutional right of a citizen to express his feelings freely on any subject. Although these acts were intended to apply to mischievous French agents, they applied also to every citizen of the country. The defeat of the Federal party at the following election was due very largely to the passage of these acts.

The legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia, in 1798, passed resolutions condemning the Alien and Sedition laws. The Kentucky resolution, drawn up by Jefferson, declared that the Congress had no right to pass such laws and that the state governments could declare them "void and of no force." The Virginia Assembly was equally emphatic in its disapproval.

**The Ken-
tucky and
Virginia
Resolutions**

¹ An alien is a person residing in a country who is not a lawful citizen of it.

SUMMARY

Washington and Adams were elected President and Vice-President in 1789.

Three executive departments—Foreign Affairs (afterward State), War, and Treasury—were established.

A Supreme Court and various other federal courts were created.

The first tariff act, for revenue, was passed by the First Congress; a fugitive-slave law was also passed.

Ten amendments to the Constitution were adopted and ratified by the necessary number of states.

A Federal bank was established at Philadelphia to handle the money of the government.

Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio were admitted to the Union.

Washington and Adams were reëlected (1792).

The first political parties, Federalists and Anti-federalists or Democratic-Republicans, were organized during Washington's first term.

Washington proclaimed the neutrality of the United States during war between France and England.

The first friendly treaty with Great Britain was negotiated by John Jay, in 1794. The treaty met with violent opposition in the United States.

War with France was averted by the overthrow of the Directory, and a commercial treaty was made with Napoleon Bonaparte.

The Alien and Sedition acts were passed in order to permit the President to expel or to punish French agents who were endeavoring to violate the neutrality of the United States. They applied, however, to all citizens of the United States, and were very obnoxious.

COLLATERAL READING

Critical Period of American History—Fiske. Chapters V, VII.

Constitution of the United States—Amendments I–X, Appendix, pp. 20–21.

History of the People of the United States—McMaster. Vol. II, pp. 138–142; pp. 371–374; pp. 393–400.

CHAPTER XIV

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND THE WAR FOR COMMERCIAL INDEPENDENCE. 1800-1816

The Passing of the Federalists; the Election of Jefferson. 1800.
—The Democratic-Republicans had greatly increased their strength since the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws. They were quick to take advantage of dissensions which arose among the Federalists previous to the election of 1800. President Adams and Charles Pinckney of South Carolina were at the head of the ticket of the Federal party; the Democratic-Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson¹ and Aaron Burr of New York. The Federalists were

A cursive handwritten signature of Thomas Jefferson, written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large 'T' and 'J' at the beginning.

THE AUTOGRAPH OF JEFFERSON.

defeated. After holding the control of the national government for the first twelve years of its existence, the Federalists as a party were forced to retire, and they never again gained control.

The electors were required by the Constitution to cast their votes for two persons without indicating in any way which was to be President and which was to be Vice-President.² The candidate who received the greatest number of electoral votes was to

¹ THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743-1826) was a native of Albemarle County, Virginia. He received his education at William and Mary College. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress of 1775-1776, and wrote the Declaration of Independence. He was successively governor of Virginia, United States minister to France, secretary of state, and Vice-President; and was elected and reëlected as the third President (1801-1809). The remainder of his life was passed in retirement at Monticello, his Virginia home. He has been classed with Washington, Franklin, and Lincoln as one of the four American statesmen who have rendered greatest service to their country.

² See page 190, footnote.





be President. When the electoral votes were counted, it was found that Jefferson and Burr had each seventy-three; neither had a majority, and, in consequence, the House of Representatives was compelled to exercise, for the first time, its constitutional right to elect a President.¹ A ballot of the House resulted in the election of Jefferson. Aaron Burr became Vice-President.

The inauguration of President Jefferson took place in Washington.² He was the first President to be inaugurated there.³ As soon as he was fairly seated in the executive chair, Jefferson began to make changes in the method of administering the government. Formal and extravagant practices in the executive

¹ The House obtained this right from Article II, Section 1, of the Constitution, which then read: "If no person have a majority [of the electoral votes], then from the five highest on the list the said House shall . . . choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; . . . and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice." By the twelfth amendment to the Constitution, proposed by the Eighth Congress in 1803, and duly ratified by the state legislatures, the presidential electors are now required to vote for one person for President and another for Vice-President.

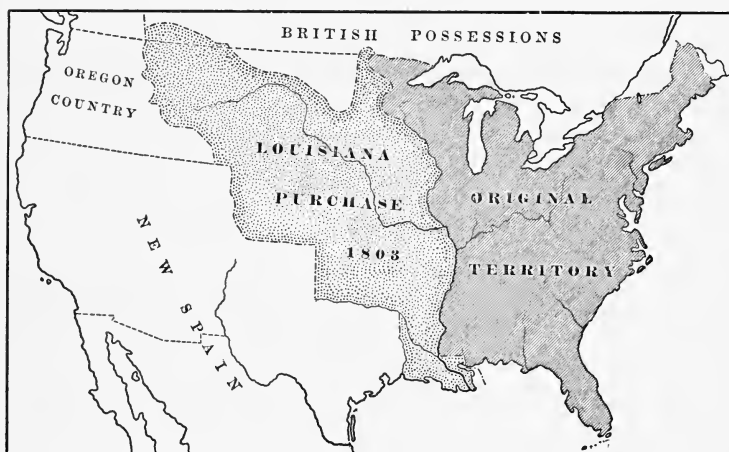
² The city of Washington had been laid out as the seat of the national government just prior to 1800.

³ Jefferson's inaugural address contained what have always since been called the Jeffersonian principles. They have attained wide fame, and to this day they have been constantly studied. They are as follows:—

"Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a zealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decision of the majority, the vital principle of republics; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public service, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; and freedom of persons under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trials by juries impartially selected."

departments were abolished, and simple ways were substituted. So far as possible, the expenses of the government were reduced.

The Purchase of Louisiana. 1803. — The chief event of Jefferson's administration was the purchase of the province of Louisiana, a vast region extending from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and to Mexico. The province had been a part of the French possessions in North America. At the close of the French and Indian War, Spain acquired it from France, but in 1800 secretly transferred it back to her.¹



THE EXPANSION RESULTING FROM THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

The only part of Louisiana which at that time had any special interest to the people of the United States was the port of New Orleans, some miles above the mouth of the Mississippi. This port was used as a place for the deposit of merchandise by American ships navigating the river,² and not until the privilege of using the port was suddenly denied to the United States was there any suspicion that the province had been

¹ See page 120.

² In October, 1795, Pinckney, then minister to Spain, had negotiated a treaty giving to American ships the right to navigate the river, and also the privilege to deposit merchandise at New Orleans.

re-transferred to France. This interference with the commerce of the West led to a united demand on the part of the merchants and settlers in the Mississippi and Ohio valleys that the national government should seize New Orleans.

Jefferson believed there would be a great deal of trouble about the navigation of the Mississippi unless the United States should gain possession of New Orleans. He was inclined to think that the port and the region around it down to the mouth of the river might be purchased, and accordingly he directed Robert R. Livingston, our minister to France, to negotiate with Napoleon, then ruler of France, for its purchase. He also sent James Monroe as special envoy to join in the negotiations.

Napoleon was at that time preparing for renewed war with England. The great Frenchman needed money, and offered to sell to the United States not only New Orleans, but the whole province of Louisiana. He demanded \$20,000,000 at first, but finally reduced the price to \$15,000,000. The offer had to be accepted at once. England might begin war any day; and it was thought that her first hostile act would be to send warships to seize New Orleans. There was no time to refer the matter to President Jefferson. Napoleon's offer was accepted, and (April 30, 1803) Louisiana was ceded to the United States.

The
purchase

Monroe had gone beyond his instructions in purchasing Louisiana, but President Jefferson fully sanctioned the act. The treaty confirming the sale was ratified (October 9, 1803); a week later the Congress appropriated the money required. That the purchase was a great stretch of constitutional power was evident; but it was a clear necessity. There was no clause in the Constitution to warrant such a transaction. By many citizens it was considered a dangerous precedent, but it was thought that the purchase was necessary to the national welfare.

Before the United States took formal possession of Louisiana, the national area was only 828,000 square miles. By the acquisition of Louisiana, 1,171,831 square miles were added. The ownership of the United States was extended over the whole Mississippi Valley. Probably no other

Value of the
territory

equal area on the face of the earth has greater natural resources. Its food-producing power alone is great enough to sustain a population of about one hundred millions of people. In latitude it extends from the cold temperate almost to the torrid zone. It is a level stretch of well-watered prairies; its climate permits the growth of the sugar cane, on the one hand, and winter wheat, on the other. At the close of the century in which the Louisiana purchase was made, the Mississippi Valley produced —

One fourth of the world's wheat crop,
 Four fifths of the world's maize crop,
 Three fourths of the world's cotton crop,
 Three fourths of the world's output of iron ore,
 One third of the world's output of coal.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition. 1804-1806. — Soon after the



From a portrait that belonged to William Clark.

Meriwether Lewis

reached the headwaters of the Columbia. Down this river they

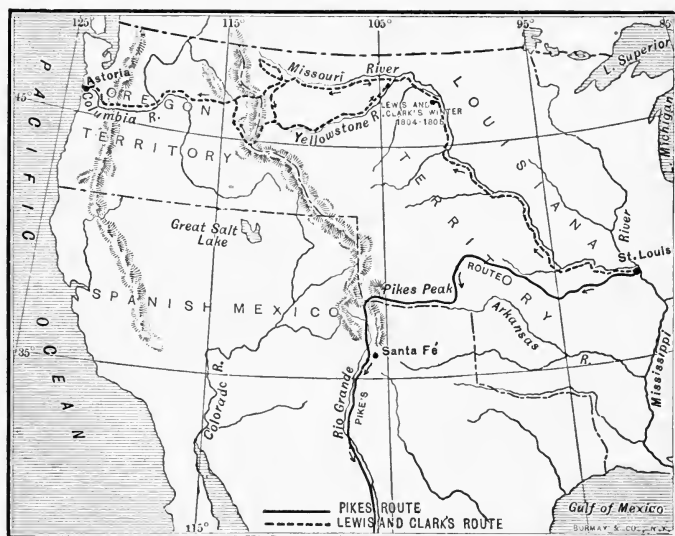
acquisition of Louisiana, Jefferson arranged for an overland expedition to explore the western part of the territory, and also the region of the Columbia River. This river had been explored (1792) by Captain Robert Gray of Boston, who had sailed up it in his ship *Columbia*. He had renamed the river after his ship.¹

Jefferson put the expedition in charge of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant William Clark. They ascended the Missouri River to its source, making a general exploration of the country as they went along, and

¹ Previously the river had been known as the Oregon.

went to the Pacific Ocean, obtaining a large amount of information of the region. The work of their expedition on the Columbia River afterward formed a strong basis to the claim of the United States to Oregon.

Pike's Explorations. 1806. — While the explorations of Lewis and Clark were under way, Captain Zebulon Pike carried on a similar work along the eastern border of the Rocky Mountains.¹ He made a rough survey of the basin of the Arkansas River and



WESTERN EXPLORATIONS, 1804-1806.

then started southwest for the Red River. Pike reached, not Red River, but the Rio Grande. Being then on Spanish territory, he and his party were captured and taken to Santa Fé. They were shortly afterward set free, however, and made their way back across Texas.

The Oregon Country. — Learning the facts of Lewis and Clark's explorations, John Jacob Astor, a fur trader of New York, or-

¹ He found the lofty peak near Denver which was afterward named Pikes Peak in his honor.

ganized the Pacific Fur Company, and began the establishment of a train of trading posts along the line of the Missouri to the Columbia River, and thence to the Pacific Ocean. One of the posts established was Astoria, now a thriving town at the mouth of the Columbia. By Gray's discovery, Lewis and Clark's explorations, and the occupation of Astoria, the title of the United States to the Oregon country¹ was practically completed.

War with Tripoli. 1803-1805. — For many years the states of Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco in North Africa had sent out pirate ships, for the purpose of capturing merchant vessels sailing the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. In order to protect American commerce, it had been the custom of the national government occasionally to pay tribute to the rulers of these states.

Jefferson determined to adopt another policy. So (1803) when Tripoli demanded a large tribute, Jefferson sent, instead of money, a force of warships to the Mediterranean. The squadron, under Commodore Preble, bombarded the city of Tripoli, and brought its ruler to terms. In 1805 a treaty of peace was agreed to by Tripoli, and thereafter American ships were not molested by that country.

Jefferson's Second Term. 1804-1808. — Jefferson's first term had proved so satisfactory to the people that he was again made a candidate. The Federalists nominated Pinckney. Jefferson was elected by a large majority. George Clinton of New York was chosen Vice-President.

Importation of Slaves Prohibited. — Upon the recommendation of President Jefferson, the Congress (1806) passed an act prohibiting, after January 1, 1808, the importation of colored persons intended to be sold as slaves. The importation of slaves was made a high misdemeanor, punishable by a fine and imprisonment. The act was in accordance with the Constitution,² which practically gave to the Congress the power to prohibit the importation of slaves when the year 1807 had expired.

The Cumberland Road. — In order to meet the demands of the

¹ The region between the Pacific and the Rocky Mountains from the parallel of 42° to 54° 40' was called the Oregon country. See map, page 267.

² See the Constitution, Article I, Section 9.

rapidly increasing commerce of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, the Congress passed an act, in 1806, for the building of a national road from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio River at Wheeling. The highway was constructed and was called the Cumberland road. Ultimately, it was extended across Illinois (1838), making the total cost nearly \$7,000,000. This was the beginning of a series of internal improvements by the general government. The strict constructionists held that the government had no right under the Constitution to make internal improvements, and for several years political parties were divided on the question.

Burr's Trial for Treason. 1807. — After Aaron Burr had served his term as Vice-President, in 1805, public opinion forced him to leave the East. For words spoken in political disputes, Burr had



THE ROUTE OF THE CUMBERLAND ROAD.

Showing its later extension across Illinois.

challenged Alexander Hamilton to a duel and killed him (July, 1804). He had thus lost the respect and the support of his political associates. He went to the southwestern territory and contrived to gain the favor of many people there. He also organized a military expedition, which was probably intended to carry out a scheme for an independent government in Louisiana or in Mexico.

By order of President Jefferson, the expedition was stopped at Natchez, and Burr was arrested for treason against the United States. He was taken to Richmond, Virginia, to be tried. At the trial, in August, 1807, no proof was presented that would suffice to convict him of an overt act of treason, and therefore he was acquitted. He then gave bail to appear for trial in Ohio on a charge of high misdemeanor. When the case was called, Burr

did not appear, having fled to Europe, where he remained for years. The case was never brought up again.

The "Gunboat Navy." 1807. — After the close of the War of the Revolution, our commerce grew to vast proportions, even in spite of the troubles with France and England. But the entire seaboard was at the mercy of a hostile fleet should war be declared, since we had neither adequate navy nor coast defenses. In order to remedy this, Jefferson's plan for a navy of gunboats was adopted by the Congress. It was not a popular measure. The Federalists had demanded that the navy should be made stronger and that the principal seaports of the country should be fortified. The demand had been opposed by the Republicans, who had a large majority in the Congress, on the ground that the cost would be too great.

In a message to the Congress, President Jefferson suggested that instead of building expensive warships and fortifications, it would be cheaper to provide small gunboats and heavy cannon mounted on carriages. The gunboats, he believed, could easily guard the coast waters, and the heavy cannon could be conveyed to any place where they might be wanted to resist attack.

As a cheap defense this system was favored by the Congress. Two hundred and fifty gunboats and a large number of movable cannon were ordered. But it was soon apparent that such a scheme could never be a worthy substitute for a navy. It was so unsatisfactory that before half of the gunboats were finished the plan was abandoned. The shadow of coming events, moreover, made it plain that there was no substitute for good warships, trained sailors, and strong fortifications. Neither Great Britain nor France respected any right but that of might.

Interference with American Commerce. — In 1806 France and Great Britain were engaged in a sort of retaliation which seemed very much like an international game of battledore and shuttlecock. The unpleasant feature about it was, that while the two European powers played at battledore, the vessels carrying American merchandise were the shuttlecocks. Great Britain proclaimed a blockade of the French coast, and six months later Napoleon issued a decree from Berlin for a blockade of the English coast.

In 1807, by the Orders in Council, Great Britain prohibited neutral ships from entering any ports of Europe, except those of Russia. Napoleon then issued a decree from Milan forbidding neutral ships to trade with Great Britain and her colonies.

Both nations enforced their orders so far as they were able; and in consequence the commerce of the United States was severely injured. Voyages continued to be made to European ports, but at great risk. Nearly a thousand American ships were captured by British and French cruisers and confiscated, — ships, sailors, cargoes, and all. It was declared in excuse for the capture of sailors that only British subjects were taken,¹ but this was untrue. The Americans were neutral, but American commerce continued to suffer from violations of neutrality.²

British warships were stationed off the ports of New York and at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay and all vessels, incoming or outgoing, were stopped and searched. In the course of the year more than one hundred merchantmen were seized and confiscated, and nearly one thousand seamen were impressed into the British navy. Many of these were American-born citizens. In the meantime public indignation reached a white heat. In the summer of 1807, an incident brought matters to a climax.

¹ Great Britain then held the doctrine, which is still held by some European powers, that a person who was once a British subject always remained a British subject, even though he became a citizen of another country. It was therefore claimed that the naval authorities had the right to impress a British sailor wherever he might be found on the high seas.

² In part, the trouble was due to American shipmasters themselves. According to the rules of neutrality which Great Britain had established, although an American vessel might clear from the United States for any European port, or for the West Indies, it was forbidden that a vessel should clear from France to a West India port, or from Spain to a Spanish West India port, and *vice versa*. In order to evade this rule, an American vessel would sail from the Spanish West Indies to a port of the United States, enter the port and pay duty on the cargo, and then clear for a port of Spain. On receiving his clearance papers, the shipmaster would receive also the duty he had paid, less three per cent.

For a long time it was the custom to break the voyage in this way, and the British government ignored the practice. In 1805, however, the English courts decided that the "broken voyage," as it was called, was a breach of neutrality, and that ships on such a voyage were liable to capture. The decision was probably lawful, but the manner in which the British naval authorities carried it out was not only exasperating but outrageous.

The Attack on the Chesapeake. 1807. — While off the Virginia coast the *Chesapeake*, a thirty-eight-gun American frigate, was hailed by the *Leopard*, a fifty-gun British frigate. Officers from the *Leopard* went aboard the *Chesapeake* and demanded the right to search her for certain sailors claimed to be English deserters. The commander of the *Chesapeake* refused to allow the search, and the British officers departed. In a few minutes the *Leopard* opened fire on the *Chesapeake*, killing three men and wounding others. The American ship, not having her guns mounted, was not prepared for battle, and was compelled to strike her flag. Four men were then taken from her to the British frigate. An investigation afterward showed that three of these men were American-born citizens.

Instead of considering the outrage an act of war and at once suspending relations with Great Britain, President Jefferson issued a proclamation forbidding British warships to enter American ports. The British made no reparation for this attack until several years afterward.¹ Moreover, British men-of-war came into American ports whenever they pleased, in spite of the President's proclamation.

The Embargo Act. 1807. — President Jefferson called the Congress together in special session (October, 1807) to take action upon the violations by England and France of the rights of the United States as a neutral nation. He recommended that an embargo act be passed, by which exportation from the United States should be prohibited. He believed that England and France needed American food-stuffs and other productions, and if they could not get them, they would be compelled to make favorable terms with us.

After weeks of debate, the Congress passed the Embargo Act (December, 1807). It was stoutly opposed by the Federalists and by a few of the Democratic-Republicans, but received a vote of about two to one. The act forbade the departure of any American vessels to a foreign country. Foreign vessels leaving the ports of

¹ In 1811 Great Britain agreed to make reparation in money to the United States for the damage done, as well as payments to the families of the men who were killed or wounded in the affair.

the United States must go without cargo. Vessels engaged in the coasting trade had to give heavy bonds as assurance that their cargoes would be landed in the United States.

The Non-intercourse Act. 1809. — The embargo certainly hurt Great Britain and France, but it hurt the United States more. It practically annihilated the great shipping interests of New England, and hurt the farmers by depriving them of foreign markets for their products. For a few months it was endured as patiently as possible, but as no good result seemed to come from it, a strong demand was made for its repeal or modification. The Congress at last consented to modify it, and passed the Non-intercourse Act. By this act commerce was allowed with all nations except England and France.

Madison elected President. 1808. — Most of the Democratic-Republicans, as well as many members of the Congress, wanted Jefferson to accept a third term as President; but, like Washington, he declined.



THE AUTOGRAPH OF MADISON.

The Federalists again nominated Charles Pinckney in 1808, and again lost the election. James Madison¹ of Virginia was chosen President and George Clinton Vice-President.

Napoleon's Dishonesty. 1810. — For some time Madison was disposed to follow the peace policy of Jefferson and to avoid hostilities with Great Britain and France, in spite of the fact that both countries were continuing their attacks on American commerce. Finally, Napoleon offered to stop the seizure of our ships and to resume commercial relations with the United States. The Non-intercourse Act was repealed, so far as it affected France.

As soon as peaceful relations had been assured, many American merchantmen that were idle, loaded with provisions and sailed

¹ JAMES MADISON (1751-1836) was born at Port Conway, Virginia. He was a graduate of Princeton College. He came into prominence in 1774 as a member of the Committee of Public Safety for his county. From that time until his election to the presidency he served in public office, notably as delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, as member of the Congress, and as secretary of state. He served two terms as President. He was thoughtful and quiet, an excellent student and politician.

for French ports. No sooner had they entered French harbors than they were seized and confiscated. The loss to the shippers was many million dollars. Napoleon's promise had been a trick; he had not revoked his orders, and he had not intended to do so. The French troops were much in need of food-stuffs and supplies, and Napoleon took this means to obtain them.

Indian Troubles. 1811. — On the western frontier the Indians were actively trying to keep settlers out of Indiana Territory. William Henry Harrison, governor of the territory, gathered a force of regulars and volunteers from the settlements and attacked the Indian stronghold on Tippecanoe River. His decisive victory made Harrison the hero of the West. The defeated chief, Tecumseh, at once joined the British in Canada, and the Americans became confirmed in their belief that the Indian attacks had been incited by agents of Great Britain.

Clay and Calhoun advise War. — The search of American ships and the impressment of seamen went on as usual, and the British authorities ceased even to acknowledge the protests of the United States. These indignities finally caused two strong leaders, Henry Clay¹ and John C. Calhoun,² to advocate armed resistance. The Democratic-Republicans had a large majority in the Congress, and a strong war spirit prevailed among them. The Federalists firmly opposed the demand for war; but they could not prevent its declaration. President Madison became convinced that the

¹ HENRY CLAY (1777-1852) was a native of Hanover County, Virginia. Before he was twenty he began to practice law. He removed to Lexington, Kentucky, and by that state he was repeatedly sent to the House of Representatives and to the Senate. In 1824 he was a candidate for the presidency, but failed of election. During Adams's administration he served as secretary of state. He was of a peace-loving spirit, devoted to the Union above all personal and party considerations. A power by means of his eloquence and force of will, he was a natural political leader.

² JOHN C. CALHOUN (1782-1850) was born in Abbeville District, South Carolina. He was a graduate of Yale College. For a period of nearly forty years he served in the Congress and in the cabinet. Monroe made him his secretary of war, and President Tyler appointed him secretary of state. In 1825, and again in 1828, he was elected Vice-President. He was in favor of free trade, and a defender of the institution of slavery. Webster, who was opposed to him in politics, testified to the charms of Calhoun's personality and the nobility of his character.

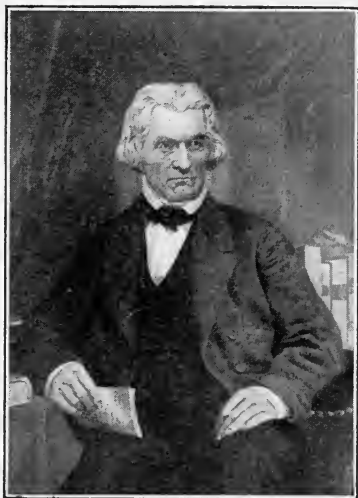
people desired him to support the war policy of the Congress, and his conclusion to do so was strengthened by the Henry affair.

The Henry Affair. 1812. — What at first seemed to be a plot against the United States, came to light early in 1812. There had been a considerable gossip that the Eastern states, then the chief stronghold of the Federalists, were planning to withdraw from the Union on account of the Embargo Act and other measures of the Federal government. One John Henry, who said he had talked with the leading Federalists in Boston, reported their dissatisfaction to the governor-general of Canada. To these Boston men, however, he had declared that he was authorized to offer the assistance of the British government in any movement looking toward secession, and to propose a union with Canada.

As a matter of fact, Henry discovered no real desire for secession from the Union among the Federalists, although some of their leaders had threatened it. New England was, however, deeply discontented on account of the disastrous commercial measures. Dissatisfied with his treatment in Canada

and London, in a fit of anger Henry sold all the correspondence in the matter to the United States government for \$50,000. President Madison sent the papers to the Congress with the assumption that Henry's evidence proved that Great Britain had been intriguing to break up the American Union. It has since been discovered that the papers were false.

The Declaration of War. 1812. — The President sent a confidential message to the Congress, June 1, 1812, recommending that war be declared. In his message he said that the chief causes for



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

complaint against Great Britain were "the impressment of our seamen, her infringement upon our maritime jurisdiction, and disturbance of the peace of our coasts, her paper blockades,¹ unsupported by any adequate force, and her violations of our neutral rights." The committee of each house of the Congress made a report favoring the declaration of war, and President Madison promptly issued a proclamation announcing that a state of war existed.

The Surrender of Detroit; the Invasion of Ohio. 1812. — The second war with England — known as the War of 1812 because it was declared in that year — was a war for commercial independence. The United States had only a small army and a navy quite insignificant compared with that of the British, but as the war went on, the army and the navy were greatly strengthened.

The first aggressive movement of the war was an invasion of Canada, which was wretchedly managed, and failed. An army of about twelve hundred, under the command of General Hull, a Revolutionary soldier, then governor of Michigan Territory, crossed over to Canada from Detroit, but returned in about a month without making an effort to engage the enemy in battle. In August following, seven hundred British soldiers and six hundred Indians appeared at Detroit to give battle to Hull's force, but, to the surprise of everybody, Hull surrendered Detroit and all of Michigan Territory without a blow.²

Early in January, 1813, General Winchester attempted to drive the British out of Frenchtown, a small village on Raisin River, not far from Detroit. Winchester made a good fight; nevertheless, his force was defeated and captured. There being no longer an army of defense, the British troops then invaded Ohio, where

¹ A paper blockade is one not supported by a show of force. It is one of the principles of international law that if any enemy does not effectually close the ports along the coast declared to be blockaded, the assumed blockade may be disregarded by neutral vessels.

² It is said that General Hull did not believe he could depend on his troops to fight the British successfully, and he therefore surrendered to save useless bloodshed. He was subsequently tried by court-martial for cowardice and sentenced to be shot; but in consideration of his gallant services in the Revolution, he was pardoned by the President. His name was stricken from the army roll.

they had their own way until General William Henry Harrison, who had made a forced march from Cincinnati, defeated them at Fort Meigs. About the same time Major Croghan repelled a British attack at Fort Stephenson. These two battles checked the British invasion.

The Farcical Attack upon Queenston. — At the beginning of the war, General Stephen Van Rensselaer was ordered to take command of the New York militia and to proceed to the Canadian frontier. The "militia" consisted of less than one thousand men, without arms, uniforms, or organization, encamped at Niagara.

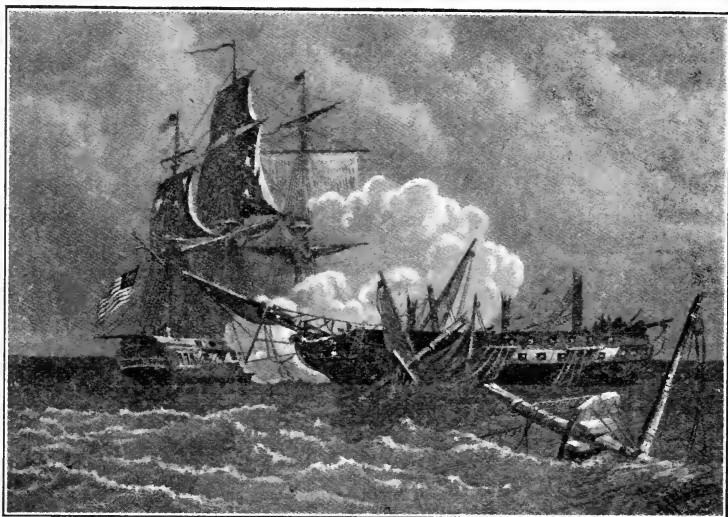


SCENE OF OPERATIONS IN THE WAR OF 1812.

Van Rensselaer provided arms and uniforms at his own expense; the organization he endeavored to get by drill and discipline. It was the intention that his force should capture Queenston, join General Hull, and proceed to Montreal. The first attempt to cross the river to reach Queenston failed, and in subsequent attacks the American troops proved themselves too cowardly to fight. Van Rensselaer was badly wounded, and threw up his command in disgust.

First Naval Operations. — The humiliating failures on land were offset, in a measure, by most creditable fighting at sea. Just after the declaration of war, on August 13, 1812, the British sloop *Alert* was overhauled by the frigate *Essex*, in command of Captain

Porter, and surrendered after an engagement of only eight minutes. Six days later, the American frigate *Constitution*,—subsequently nicknamed *Old Ironsides*,—commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, encountered the British frigate *Guerrière* in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The *Constitution* made her opponent a complete wreck in about half an hour. Very little damage was done to the *Constitution*.



From the painting by White.

THE CONSTITUTION DESTROYING THE GUERRIÈRE.

On October 15 the British sloop *Frolic* was defeated by the American sloop *Wasp*, off the North Carolina coast. On the 25th of October the frigate *United States*, commanded by Captain Decatur, engaged the British frigate *Macedonia*, in the vicinity of the island of Madeira. After a fight of a little more than an hour the *Macedonia* surrendered. To finish the year 1812, the *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Bainbridge, while off the Brazilian coast, met the British frigate *Java*. During a fight of two hours the *Java* lost two hundred and thirty men, and was shot to pieces.

These gallant naval exploits, and also the capture of hundreds

of English merchantmen by American privateers, caused unbounded enthusiasm in the United States.

Madison Reëlected. 1812.—The election of 1812 took the form of an expression of approval of the war. The peace faction of the Democratic-Republicans chose De Witt Clinton of New York as its candidate. Madison was reëlected, with Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts as Vice-President.

Operations of 1813; Perry's Victory on Lake Erie.—Another invasion of Canada was put into operation by General William Henry Harrison, commander of the army of the West. It was first necessary to control Lake Erie, on the waters of which floated a

*We have met the enemy and they are ours.
Two Ships, two Brigs one
Schooner & one Sloop.
Yours, with great respect and esteem
O. H. Perry.*

PERRY'S FAMOUS MESSAGE TO GENERAL HARRISON.

British fleet of six warships, carrying sixty-three guns. To destroy this fleet and open the lake was the task of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, a young naval officer scarcely out of his teens.

In a few weeks Captain Perry had gathered, or built out of growing timber at Presqu' Isle, a fleet of nine vessels, with fifty-four guns. He then sailed for the western extremity of Lake Erie to give battle to the enemy. The two met on September 10, 1813, and Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence*, began the battle by opening fire on the British line. The *Lawrence*, after furious fighting, at last became disabled, and Perry transferred his flag to his second largest ship, the *Niagara*. Flag in hand, he jumped into a small boat and was rowed through a raking fire to the *Niagara*. Hoist-

ing his flag, he immediately sailed down the British line, firing broadsides as he went along. The American ships inflicted so much damage that the British commander struck his colors and surrendered. Perry then sent to General Harrison the famous message, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

The Battle of the Thames and Other Land Operations. 1813. — After Perry's mastery of Lake Erie, General Harrison crossed to



From the painting by Chappel.

THE BATTLE OF THE RIVER THAMES, 1813.

Canada, where he defeated the British at the Thames River, on October 12. This battle restored to the Americans possession of Detroit and the northwestern country. American troops also made a successful attack on York, Canada, but followed it by the disgraceful act of burning the town.

Land Operations on the Frontier. 1814. — Two years of fighting had given officers and men the discipline that enabled them to carry on the war more intelligently. Winfield Scott won an important fight at Chippewa (July 5) on the Canadian frontier, and held his ground in a battle at Lundys Lane (July 25); these

engagements enabled him to capture Fort Erie. But the British returned in greater force, and drove him away from Fort Erie long enough to take the opportunity to sack and burn Buffalo. As an act of vandalism this about offset the burning of York. A combined land and water victory over the British at Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, put an end to the British plans for an invasion of New York by way of the lake. This naval battle on Lake Champlain, in which Lieutenant McDonough completely routed the British ships, was one of the most noteworthy incidents of the war.

The Blockade. — In the meantime the British had attempted to blockade the United States, and war vessels were stationed before the harbors of the entire coast. This measure was the result of the naval defeats. The British had considered their navy invincible, and the fact that some of their best ships had been easily riddled and sunk by American gunners was a disagreeable surprise. The British ministry was compelled to take a course of some kind or other to satisfy the popular demand, and the coast blockade was the plan followed. Sorties were made along the coast, and several coast towns were bombarded.

The Sacking of Washington. 1814. — During the summer of 1814, a British fleet and a land force entered the Chesapeake Bay, landed near Havre de Grace, Maryland, and marched to Washington. A feeble resistance was made at Bladensburg, but the British burned the Capitol, White House, and other public buildings, destroying in all about \$2,000,000 worth of property.

The Hartford Convention. 1814. — The Federalists had opposed the war from the first, and as it progressed their opposition steadily increased. They were stronger in New England than elsewhere. A number of their leaders, representing five states, assembled at Hartford, Connecticut, and discussed the public grievances arising from the war. They were in secret session for three weeks. At that time many of the people believed that the real object of the Hartford Convention, as it was called, was to take the New England states out of the Union.

As the situation is now understood, those who took part in the convention did not wish to secede, but they strongly disagreed

with the policy of the government and the conduct of the war. The convention adopted resolutions demanding a redress of the grievances of New England, but the resolutions were not approved by a single state.

Battle of New Orleans. 1815.—In December, 1814, a British force of twelve thousand men, under General Pakenham, landed below New Orleans and began a movement toward that city. The American troops at that point were under the command of General Andrew Jackson. With less than six thousand men, Jackson advanced to meet the British. He made a vigorous attack on the enemy, but was forced to fall back. He then took up a strong position behind a canal, four miles from New Orleans, constructed some intrenchments of sand bags and cotton bales, and awaited the coming of the enemy.

Pakenham soon made an assault on Jackson's lines (January, 1815). The British charged twice on the intrenchments, but they were mowed down by the American artillery and by the bullets of the Kentucky and Tennessee sharpshooters. Pakenham and many of his leading officers were killed. In less than half an hour the battle was finished, the British retreating with the loss of twenty-six hundred killed and wounded.

The Treaty of Ghent. 1814.—By the summer of 1814, both the United States and England were tired of the war, and saw no advantage in prolonging it. Each nation appointed commissioners¹ to arrange a treaty of peace. The commissioners met at Ghent, in Belgium, and agreed on the treaty, which is known as the treaty of Ghent. The document signed by the commissioners in December² did not reach the United States until the following February, because of the slow means of communication. The treaty was ratified by the Senate.

It provided for the immediate cessation of hostilities, and for the restoration of all property taken by either party during the war. It arranged for commissioners to determine the boundary between the United States and the British possessions. There

¹ John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russel, and Albert Gallatin were the commissioners for the United States.

² As a matter of fact it was signed before the battle of New Orleans was fought.

were other provisions also, but the impressment of American seamen was not mentioned in the treaty; never after this time, however, did England claim the right of impressment.

What the War Accomplished.—The war settled none of the questions for which it was declared. Its chief result was to establish the United States as a nation to be respected. It created a stronger national feeling among the people than was ever known before. It thoroughly tested the strength of the Federal union and the authority of the Federal government. Unaided, the nation fought the greatest power in Europe, resisted her veteran soldiers, and destroyed her naval supremacy. Thereafter the Americans were confident of their ability to defend themselves on land or sea from foreign aggressions. England never afterward tried to impress American seamen, or to deny to the United States her rights on the high seas.

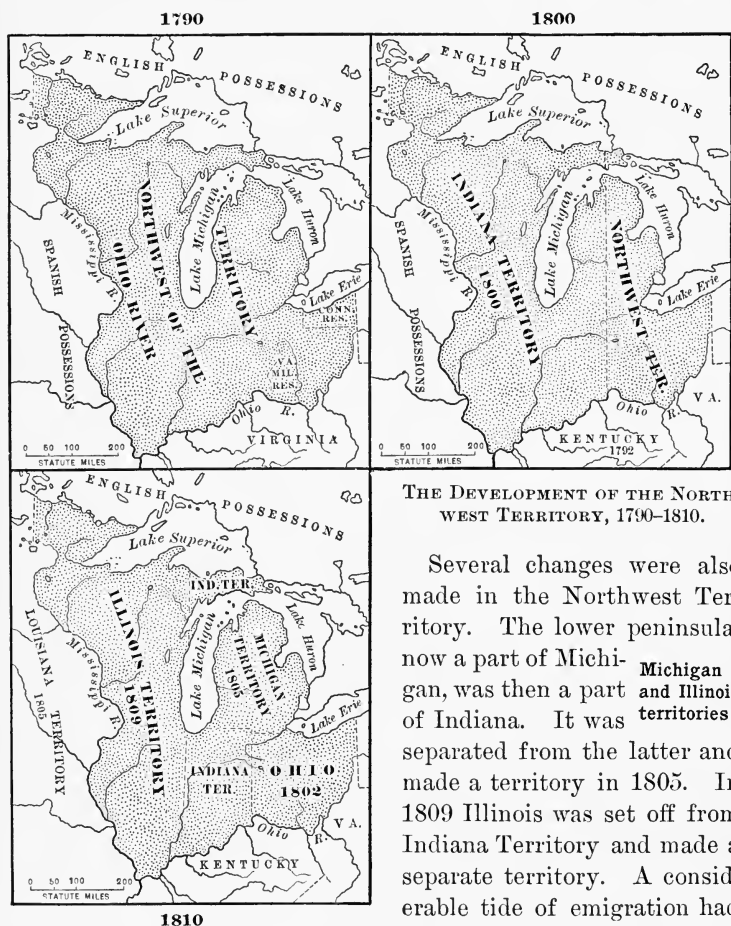
The Algerine Pirates.—During the war closed by the treaty of Ghent, the Dey¹ of Algiers had carried on a piratical warfare against American merchantmen cruising in the Mediterranean. The Algerine pirates had taken many of our ships, and made slaves of the crews. Directly after the war, Commodore Decatur was sent to the Mediterranean with a fleet of nine vessels to teach the Algerines to respect the American name. Decatur encountered an Algerine frigate of forty-six guns near Gibraltar and captured it with four hundred prisoners (June 17, 1815). Another frigate was captured two days later. Then Decatur sailed into the Bay of Algiers and forced the Dey to release the American sailors, and to give compensation for the attacks on our commerce. Afterward Decatur went to Tunis and Tripoli, and made the sovereign of each country pay roundly for their depredations on American ships.

New Political Divisions.—The state of Georgia was at first reluctant to give up her claims to lands west of the Appalachian Mountains, but in 1802 she ceded them to the national domain, and they were added to Mississippi Territory, which had been established in 1798. Two years later (1804) the southern part of the Louisiana Purchase was made into

Mississippi
territory;
Louisiana

¹ This was the title then given to the governor of Algiers.

a separate political division and organized as Orleans Territory; in 1812 it was admitted as the state of Louisiana, the eighteenth to join the Union.



and the food-producing power of the land was recognized.

Financial Conditions in Madison's Administration.—The Congress had refused in 1811 to renew the charter of the Bank of the

United States, which was established in 1791 for a period of twenty years. Consequently a great number of state banks, more than two hundred in all, came into existence. These banks differed from the private banks of later years in **State banks** having charters or permits from the respective states in which they were established. They were unlike the national banks of the present day, inasmuch as they had no permit from the Federal government, and they gave no security for the notes which they issued.

In a way these state banks were a great convenience and a necessity. The mint could not provide nearly enough coin for the business of the country; no one who lived in Philadelphia could deposit money in the mint or draw from it. For the convenience of their customers, the state banks issued bills of various denominations, much like the "greenbacks" in use to-day. These bills, however, were not money in the real sense; they were promises to pay the holders of them coin to the amount designated on the face of the bill. As a substitute for coin the bills were very serviceable, and so the banks, although loosely conducted, were welcomed by business men.

During the War of 1812, however, there was trouble over their way of doing business. When the British sacked Washington, the banks in Baltimore and Philadelphia packed up **Suspension of specie payment** all the coin they possessed, and sent it away where the British would not be likely to get it. This proceeding made the banks elsewhere short of coin. In a few months all the banks except those in New England were compelled to refuse payment on the paper bills they had issued. This suspension of specie payment, as it was called, brought with it a very serious shortage of money; in consequence, cities, business firms, and traders issued printed tickets to take the place of small coins. Another serious result was the loss of confidence in the banks; in only a few cases would the people take the bank bills at face value. A dollar bill issued by a Philadelphia bank, for instance, was not likely to be worth much more than ninety cents outside the city, and much less than that sum in a distant place like Boston or New Orleans.

The depressed financial condition of the country alarmed the business men generally, and inasmuch as there was but little confidence in the state banks, the matter of a United States bank was again brought into public discussion. In 1816 the second government bank was chartered for a term of twenty years. The main institution was located at Philadelphia; branches were established in Washington and several Eastern cities. The capital was \$35,000,000.

**The second
United
States Bank**

SUMMARY

The election of Jefferson, a Democratic-Republican, in 1800, marked the decline of the Federalist party.

Louisiana was purchased from France, in 1803, for \$15,000,000. The Mississippi was thus opened to navigation, and the United States gained the whole Mississippi Valley.

By the exploration of the Columbia River by Captain Gray (1792), the explorations of Lewis and Clark (1805), and the founding of a fur-trading post by John Jacob Astor (1811), the claim of the United States to the Oregon country was practically completed.

During Jefferson's first term war was waged against Tripoli in order to punish the pirates.

During Jefferson's second term the importation of slaves was forbidden; a national highway, the Cumberland road, was constructed; Aaron Burr was tried for treason and acquitted; a plan for constructing a "gunboat navy" was partly carried out and then abandoned.

Hostile relations between Great Britain and France seriously injured the commerce of the United States, and American vessels trading with either country were subject to capture by the other.

The Embargo Act forbade the export of all commodities from the United States. This being unsatisfactory, the Non-intercourse Act was passed, forbidding trade with Great Britain and France.

During Madison's first term British cruisers confiscated cargoes and impressed seamen of American vessels.

This practice led to a declaration of war against England in 1812.

In the land operations near the Canadian border the Americans were generally unsuccessful.

The navy captured several British men of war and hundreds of merchantmen.

During Madison's second term, Captain Perry defeated the British naval force on Lake Erie; General Harrison invaded Canada; Washington was sacked by the British; and Jackson defeated an invading army at New Orleans.

A treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, in 1814.

Commodore Decatur attacked the pirates of the Algerine coast in 1815, and put an end to their depredations on American commerce.

A system of state banks was established. Their method of issuing bills proved to be very weak and during the war they were obliged to suspend specie payment.

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CHAPTER XV

A PERIOD OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH. 1789-1840

Emigration to the West. — During the first twenty-five years of national existence there was an industrial development of the country, the like of which was probably never before witnessed, and the character of the land west of the Appalachian Mountains was the main cause of it. East of the mountains the best land for agricultural purposes was not to be compared with that of the plains west of the mountains. In the New England and Middle states the soil of the uplands was a gravelly drift that had but little value; only in the stream valleys was the land fit for food crops. In the Southern states, also, it was poor. As a result, after the close of the Revolution, there was a steady stream of emigration through the Mohawk Valley and by the Cumberland Pass to the level prairies of the Great Central Plain. At first, the industrial development had its greatest impetus in the South, owing to two things — the utilization of the cotton plant and the invention of the steam engine.

The Perfection of the Steam Engine. 1765. — Just about the time of the War of the Revolution, James Watt, an English mechanic, was experimenting with the steam engine, and he succeeded in improving the machine to such an extent that its usefulness seemed unlimited. English manufacturers soon discovered that in the steam engine they possessed a power greater than they had ever dreamed could exist. The English makers of textile goods at that time practically controlled the industry. In a few years this industry began to include the manufacture of cotton goods.¹ But

¹ The cotton industry had been confined mostly to the plains of Hindustan, where it probably had originated. The invention of the spinning jenny (1767) and the power loom (1785) enabled European manufacturers to take the business from the Hindoo cloth makers.

as India and China were then practically the only cotton-growing countries, the English manufacturers had to go to the far East for their raw cotton. Carrying the cotton fiber from India to England was expensive; fetching it from China was out of the question.

Cotton Cultivation transferred to America. — Shortly after their independence was established, the Americans began to grow cotton, and they discovered that the soil and the climate of the Southern states were unequaled elsewhere for the cultivation of cotton. From the northern boundary of Tennessee to the Gulf, cotton was a good-paying crop. The profits per acre almost equaled those of tobacco-farming during colonial times; inasmuch as there were comparatively few localities where cotton would not grow, the aggregate value was many times that of the tobacco crop. As a result, the area of cotton cultivation grew enormously until, in less than fifty years, it became the staple of the South, and the most valuable export product of the United States. "Cotton was King."



Eli Whitney invents the Cotton

Gin. 1794. — For about ten years after the beginning of cotton cultivation, the profits were small, on account of the great difficulty and

expense in separating the fiber from the seed.¹ About 1794 Eli Whitney, a young man from a Massachusetts family that had long been famous, set to work to overcome the expensive process of

A stylized, cursive signature of "Eli Whitney" in dark ink.

¹The fiber of commerce is the natural lint that adheres to the seed. In the sea-island cotton, the long fibers do not stick very closely to the seed, and the two are easily separated. With the ordinary upland cotton, however, the case is different. The short fibers adhere so strongly to the seed that the East Indian process of hand picking made the fiber expensive, even though the wages of the laborer were only two cents a day. The most expert workman could not seed more than two or three pounds of fiber per day.

seeding by hand. Whitney¹ devised a cotton engine, or gin, as it came to be called, which would do the work of about one hundred men.²

Before the invention of the gin, the cotton crop of the United States had not reached a total of two hundred thousand pounds in any year; in the year following, it jumped to about six million pounds. The crop steadily increased until, at the present time, it amounts to more than three fourths of the world's crop — about ten million bales of four hundred pounds each.

Cotton-growing and its Effects on Slavery. — Although negro slaves were to be found in practically all the colonies at the time of the Revolutionary War, most of them were in the South, where only unskilled labor was required; the few in the North were employed mainly as house servants. It became evident that negro labor was best adapted to agriculture conducted on a large scale, and that it was not profitable in the Northern and Middle colonies where agricultural pursuits were chiefly in the hands of small farmers. In the manufacturing sections it was impossible to use slave labor by the side of skilled free labor. Under these conditions slavery had been abolished, by 1804, in all states north of Maryland.

The introduction of cotton growing in the states began very quickly to change the conditions then existing. In the South white laborers could not well withstand the fierce heat and excessive moisture characteristic of the region; the African was adapted by nature to such conditions. With the increase of the cotton-growing area, the demand for negro slaves likewise constantly increased. In the course of a few years the money value of the good field hand advanced from about \$200 to more than \$1000. The immediate result was the gradual clearance of slaves

¹ Unscrupulous inventors appropriated some of Whitney's ideas, and both the courts and the patent laws were too inefficient to give him the protection he merited. He consequently lost much of the profits that should have come to him.

² The machine consisted of a chamber into which the cotton was fed, and a number of saws fixed on a single shaft. The teeth of the saws projected into the chamber through slits that were so narrow that the seeds could not pass through them. The revolving saws pulled the lint from the seed and then delivered it to revolving brushes, which, in turn, discharged it thoroughly clean.

from the Northern states. From the upper section of the Southern states many slaves were transferred to the cotton area, and thus slave labor became concentrated in the cotton-growing states of the far South.

The Establishment of Manufactures. — During the colonial period there had been but little development in the way of manufactures. The colonists had discovered that the manufacture of clapboards and barrel staves, which were worth from \$20 to \$100 per thousand, was profitable. The same was true of building lumber generally. A considerable amount of structural iron, such as bars and nail rods, was also made, but the material was exported to England. About the only thing manufactured that was distinctively an American product was the American ship, and this was the best in the world.

Colonial
manufac-
tures

A reason for this condition has already been noted; the mother country would not permit in her colonies the manufacture of anything that could be made in England.¹ Even after the War of the Revolution there was no great development of manufactures, and practically all the fine textiles, clothing, tools, paper, machinery, and domestic wares were imported from Europe.

The Embargo and Non-intercourse acts (1807, 1809) put a stop to the importation of such wares. The people, therefore, were compelled either to make these things themselves or to go without them. They chose to make them; and immediately clubs and societies for the encouragement of manufacturing enterprises were formed in nearly every state. Prizes were given for the production of textiles, and bounties were freely offered to companies which should undertake the building of manufacturing plants. In many cases such companies were to be exempt from taxation for a number of years. Legislatures passed resolutions requesting their members to wear garments of homemade cloth, and in some instances people who insisted on wearing "European tawdry," as it was called, were promptly "put out of society" by their more democratic neighbors. Shops for the sale of domestic-made wares were established in almost every city and town.

The impetus
to manufac-
turing

¹ See page 100.

With this very general encouragement¹ it is not surprising that a multitude of manufactures came into existence. At that time, however, the steam engine was but little used in the United States, and, on account of the suspension of foreign commerce, such engines could not be purchased abroad. Falling water, therefore, was about the only available power; the water power existed only where there were abrupt slopes — chiefly on the New England plateau and the slopes of

Manufactures in the North



THE REGIONS OF COTTON AND OF MANUFACTURES.

the Appalachian ranges. Most of the manufacturing establishments were built in localities where the falls and rapids of streams could best be utilized.² After a few years it was found that these establishments survived chiefly in the New England plateau and in some of the larger cities, such as Philadelphia, where there was available water power. This was mainly for the reason that the money formerly invested in commerce in New England and the

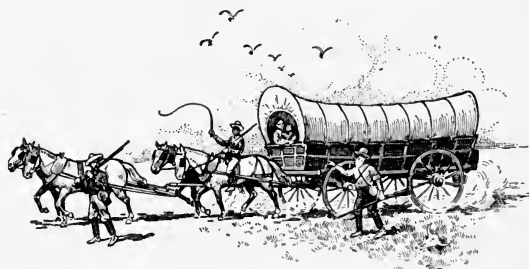
¹ In 1816 and in later years the Congress established tariffs for the encouragement of manufactures. See page 252.

² About this time the value of the "Fall Line," the line at which the foothills and the coast plain meet, was recognized. Many of the great manufacturing centers, such as Lowell and Lawrence, in Massachusetts, and Cohoes, in New York, were also located on rivers having available water power.

One Effect of the New Adjustment of Industries. — The creation of a line between Northern and Southern peoples was one very marked effect of the general readjustment of the industries of the country. The boundary between them was the line that separated the region of the waterfalls from the cotton fields. There came to be a distinct North and an equally distinct South. The widening of the gap between the two sections, in the future, was to bring about most lamentable results.

The Tide of Emigration. — Between 1789 and 1814 the population of the United States had increased from a little more than three millions to more than seven and one half millions; the thirteen states had become eighteen in number; the national area had grown from less than one million to more than two millions of square miles.

Nevertheless, in about four fifths of this immense territory there was scarcely a white man. But when these fertile lands were thrown open to settlement and sold at one dollar per acre, a tide of emigration from the East swept westward to occupy them. An added attraction lay in the prospect of producing food-stuffs which were sure to bring good prices if they could be gotten to the Eastern markets. One good crop would sometimes pay for the land.



EMIGRANTS ON THE ROAD.

As a result, three great streams of emigration started about 1815. From New England and New York, the old Indian trails along the Mohawk and thence westward were followed. From Buffalo, the emigrants diverged through northern Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois. The emigrants from the Middle states usually followed the Susquehanna River and thence across the Alleghany Range

Routes of
travel

to Pittsburg. From that point down the Ohio River and up its various branches, the way was comparatively easy. A third route lay from the Southern states westward into Kentucky and Tennessee.

It is estimated that in fifteen years not far from one million people traversed one or another of these routes. The northern route, in time, became one of the world's great traffic ways — that of the New York Central Railroad. The middle route also became a commercial highway of tremendous importance, and is practically the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The routes from the Southern states were not so well-defined, but one of them became the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. The selection of these routes, even at that time, by the emigrants traveling in wagons, demonstrated that commerce must move along lines having the fewest obstacles — practically over the grades most easily surmounted.

Democracy in America. — A spirit of democracy among the people was not general before the War of the Revolution. The right to have a share in the government — to vote or hold office — depended in some colonies on ownership of land, in others on religious belief. But after the war the restrictions rapidly fell away. It became apparent to all well-meaning people that in a true republic the people themselves are the rulers; and that all good citizens must meet on the same plane in the management of it.

An Epidemic of Socialism. — Since the republic was based on the theory that all citizens are equal, there soon grew up societies aiming at community of interest. One of these was organized by a Welshman, Robert Owen. Owen was full of the idea that most of the troubles of life arise from the fact that, while a few people accumulate very great wealth, the majority are compelled to toil in wretched poverty. In order to overcome this, Owen argued that people should form communities in which all property should be held in common, and the profits of labor be evenly divided. Moreover, he held that absolute equality should exist among members of the community. Owen's ideas became very popular, and Owenite communities were founded in many places, especially

in the Western states.¹ They very soon failed. Thrifty, energetic men, who are always the real factors in the success of a community, did not care to go into an enterprise that compelled them to divide their earnings with those who were less capable. On the other hand, those who went into such societies were apt to be either shiftless or incompetent — or both.

The Mormons. — About 1830, another sect, partly religious and partly social, came into public notice. One Joseph Smith, living in Palmyra, New York, claimed to have received, by divine revelation, a new Scripture. It was alleged to be written on plates of gold, which could be read only through miraculous agency. The society which Smith formed, called the Mormon Church, was well organized and successful from a business standpoint. The Mormons moved from New York to Ohio, next to Missouri, and then to Illinois. There they got into trouble with the people, and were forcibly driven out of the neighborhood in which they had settled. In Utah they founded (1847) one of the most successful business societies in the world, which also became a center of political disturbance. More than once the national government has had to take measures to prohibit and suppress their practice of polygamy. The entire life of the Mormon people, social, religious, industrial, educational, and political, was controlled by a powerful priesthood.

The Question of Transportation ; Steam Navigation. — The growing business of the country, together with the progress of settlement in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, brought the people face to face with a question that was difficult to adjust, namely, the matter of transportation. At the beginning of the nineteenth century no railway built for public purposes was in existence; steam had not been successfully applied to inland navigation; it had not been applied to ocean carrying at all.

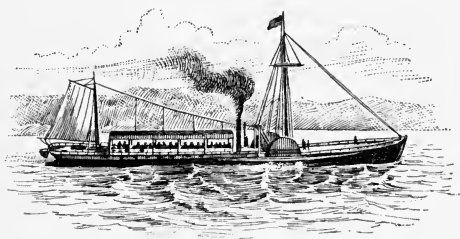
There had, however, been some unsuccessful attempts to use steam power on inland waters. As early as 1785, James Rumsey of Maryland built a small steam-propelled boat for use on the

¹ The most noted of the Owenite communities was established at New Harmony, Indiana, in 1825. The high ideals of Robert Owen attracted a group of brilliant men and women from various parts of Europe and America, and for a time New Harmony was a noted literary, educational, and scientific center.

Potomac. Three years later John Fitch built a steam packet that made regular trips for about two years on the Delaware River. Both enterprises failed, however, for want of financial support. About the same time, too, John C. Stevens of Hoboken, New Jersey, built the steamboat *Phoenix*, to ply between New York and New Brunswick, New Jersey. This venture probably would have succeeded, had not the sole privilege of navigating the waters of New York by steam been previously granted to Robert Fulton.

Fulton had designed a steam-propelled boat,¹ called the *Clermont*, which started on her first trip up the Hudson August

7, 1807, and reached Albany in thirty-two hours. A few weeks afterward she began regular trips between New York and Albany as a passenger and freight boat. The fare to Albany was seven dollars — about twice



THE CLERMONT.

the price of a round-trip ticket on one of the fine Hudson River day steamers to-day.

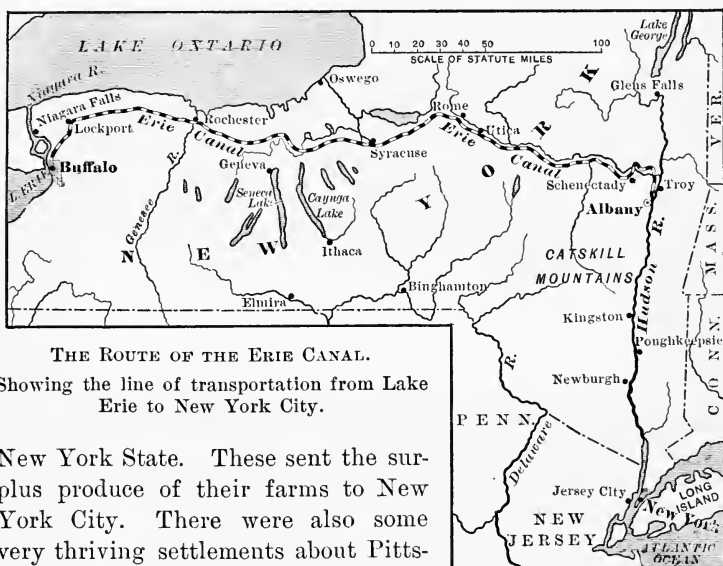
In time steam was applied also to ocean navigation. As early as 1819 the steamship *Savannah* crossed the Atlantic to England,² sailing much of the time by the wind and using steam only when

¹ Fulton's first design was a boat not for transportation, but for carrying and discharging explosive torpedoes, such as are now used in naval warfare. Having failed in his efforts to induce both American and French authorities to utilize his scheme, he made a partnership with Robert R. Livingston, then minister to France, to use his proposed steamboat for commercial purposes; it was through Livingston that he was enabled to get the franchise for navigating the waters of New York State. The hull of the *Clermont* was built on East River, New York City; the engines were made in Birmingham, England. The boat was one hundred and thirty feet long and eighteen feet wide. Her paddle wheels were fifteen feet in diameter.

² Just before the *Savannah* made her trip to England, an English gentleman had published a book in which he believed he had demonstrated by unanswerable logic that no steam vessel could ever cross the ocean. On her return trip the *Savannah* carried a copy of the work to America.

the wind failed her. But inasmuch as about all her freight space was required for fuel, the *Savannah* was not a successful venture. The regular steamship lines between America and Europe were started about twenty years later.

The Erie Canal. 1815-1825. — At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were many settlements scattered along the Mohawk Valley, and many others in the vicinity of Buffalo, in



THE ROUTE OF THE ERIE CANAL.

Showing the line of transportation from Lake Erie to New York City.

New York State. These sent the surplus produce of their farms to New York City. There were also some very thriving settlements about Pittsburgh; they shipped their goods to and from Philadelphia. Early in the century the New Yorkers had asked the Congress for an appropriation to build a canal from Lake Ontario to Albany, but it was refused; and so the matter lay resting for several years.¹ Finally the business men of New York put their hands into their pockets for funds and began the construction of the Erie Canal, from Buffalo to the Hudson. The work was begun in 1815 and completed late in 1825, at a cost of \$9,000,000.

¹ Incidentally, the New Yorkers were asserted to be "the most persistent beggars that came before the Congress."

Immediately after the construction of the canal the freight on a bushel of wheat going from Buffalo to New York was reduced from \$1.10 to forty cents.¹ Another effect became apparent within a few years. Before the building of the canal, Philadelphia had a very large foreign trade in comparison with that of New York. But most of the vessels bringing cargoes to Philadelphia returned to Europe in ballast, because there was no certainty of getting a return cargo. After the completion of the canal, so much produce was brought to New York City by the canal boats that a ship was pretty certain to have a paying return cargo. As a result the foreign trade of New York grew by leaps and bounds; from the second city in population and the third in commerce, it soon became the metropolis of the continent.

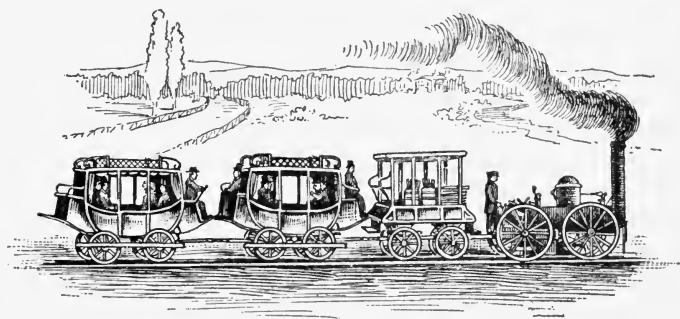
The Pennsylvania Canal. 1826. — In 1826, the Pennsylvanians, seeing their transit business threatened by the Erie Canal, began work on a transportation line from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. Many obstacles were encountered in making this line, owing to the steep grades and the difficulty in getting the canal boats from one level to another.² The aggregate lift in the Erie Canal from Buffalo to tide water was scarcely more than four hundred feet; on the Pennsylvania Canal between Pittsburg and Harrisburg it was about two thousand feet. On account of the great lift, the expenses of operating the canal were very large. This route, however, in spite of its disadvantage of heavy grades, became a great traffic route; in twenty years' time it became the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Railroad Building. 1828-1830. — Within a very short time after

¹ In 1900 the freight was a little less than three cents per bushel.

² The eastern division of the Pennsylvania route consisted of a canal extending from Philadelphia to the town of Columbia. This part of the route was soon afterward superseded by a tramway, on which cars drawn by horses were employed. The central division extended from Columbia to Huntington, but from the latter place the canal boats were floated into cribs and carried across the Alleghany Range to Johnstown by the Portage Railroad. Even on the canals the grades of the route in many places were so steep that locks between the levels could not be employed, and inclined-plane railways operated by water power, or by horses, were employed in transferring a boat from one level to another. The western division of the canal extended from Johnstown to Pittsburg.

the completion of the Erie Canal, it became apparent that a system of transportation more speedy than canal boats must be undertaken in order to accommodate the growing trade of the country. Baltimore, in turn, was alarmed at the threatened loss of her trade, which, it was feared, would be diverted to the Pennsylvania Canal. In 1828, Charles Carroll, the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, broke ground for a steam railway from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills, in Maryland. The locomotive that drew the solitary wagon on this road was built by Peter Cooper, and was the first American-built locomotive engine. On



A RAILROAD TRAIN IN NEW YORK STATE, 1831.

its trial trip the train distanced a stagecoach with which it raced, and there was much rejoicing over the first "rapid transit."¹

Just before the building of Cooper's locomotive, an English-made engine was delivered to the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, to be operated on a short line of coal-mine tramway, but it was not successful. In 1830 a railway was opened between Charleston, South Carolina, and Augusta, Georgia; during the following year, the Mohawk and Hudson line was in operation between Albany and Schenectady in New York.²

¹ This line, the Baltimore and Ohio, opened fourteen miles of railroad in 1830. It was the first road built expressly for transporting freight and passengers.

² The first rails used were wooden stringers; these were afterwards topped with a strap of iron. All-iron rails were not used for some years, although the

Coal Mining.—The use of mineral coal as fuel was no new thing at the close of the War of the Revolution. A hard, anthracite coal that burned with difficulty had been mined at Tiverton, Rhode Island, in the middle of the eighteenth century, and for many years the shipment of Tiverton coal to New York City was a good paying business. When the first settlements were made in the vicinity of Pittsburg, bituminous coal was discovered in the bluffs back of the river, and it was quite generally used as a house-heating fuel. There was also a seam of such excellent coal at Richmond, Virginia, that the product of the mine was shipped to Philadelphia, where it retailed (1789) at eighteen pence (about thirty-six cents) per bushel.

Anthracite coal was discovered at Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania, in 1790, but the cost of getting it to Philadelphia was so great that shipments were not made for some twelve years afterward. Not until canals were constructed for the purpose of transporting did coal become a regular commodity. The mining of the coal at once began to encourage the use of steam power; it likewise marked the beginning of iron manufacture on a large scale.

SUMMARY

The perfection of the steam engine led indirectly to cotton textile manufactures in England, and to the extensive cultivation of the cotton plant in the Southern states.

The invention of the cotton gin and the general use of negroes in the cotton fields made cotton cultivation very profitable.

The stopping of commerce through the Embargo and Non-intercourse acts and during the War of 1812 resulted in the establishment of manufactures in the New England states.

A distinct North and an equally distinct South were created, as industrial and political sections of the United States.

The opening of Western lands caused a tide of emigration along three routes from the East to the food-producing lands of the West.

T-rail was invented by Robert L. Stevens in 1830. A part of the driving wheel of the "De Witt Clinton," the first locomotive used on the road, is now in the possession of the Transportation Club, New York City.

The settlement of these lands created a demand for better facilities for the transportation of crops. The Erie and the Pennsylvania canals and railroad lines were constructed.

COLLATERAL READING

History of the People of the United States—McMaster. Vol. III, Chapter XXII; Vol. IV, Chapter XXXIII.

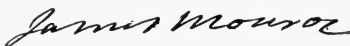
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CHAPTER XVI

POLITICAL EVENTS FROM THE TREATY OF GHENT TO THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS. 1816-1845

Monroe elected President. 1816. — The period beginning with the close of the War of 1812 was one of great political as well as of business activity. At the election in November, 1816, James Monroe¹ of Virginia was the successful candidate. Daniel Tompkins of New York was chosen Vice-President. The election was a decided victory for the Democratic-Republicans; they carried



THE AUTOGRAPH OF MONROE.

sixteen states, while the Federalist candidate, Rufus King of New York, carried but three. The questions on which the Federalist party had made its stand were practically settled before the election, and that party soon ceased to have an existence.

The Fishery Treaty. 1818. — A fishery treaty, signed in London (October, 1818) by commissioners of the United States and England, gave the fishermen of the United States the right to enter British-American harbors to procure water and fuel, to repair their vessels, and to seek shelter. Prior to 1818, American fishing vessels had no right to enter British-American harbors for any purpose. This treaty was regarded as in the interests of humanity rather than a question of international politics.

The Accession of Florida. 1819. — During the War of 1812, the Creek Indians in Georgia and Alabama had been trouble-

¹ JAMES MONROE (1758-1831) was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia. He studied at William and Mary College. He fought in the Revolution. After the close of the war he was in turn member of the Congress, United States senator, minister to France and to Great Britain, governor of Virginia, secretary of state, and secretary of war. In 1816 he was elected the fifth President, and, at the expiration of his term, was reelected.

some¹ and had been driven by General Andrew Jackson to Florida, where also lived the Seminole tribes. At that time Florida was a Spanish possession, and therefore the Americans had no right to follow the Indians farther. Taking advantage of this circumstance, the Indians were in the habit of sending pillaging parties across the border, murdering or kidnapping people and carrying off live stock. When, at last, the trouble became intolerable, General Jackson and his troops crossed the boundary into Florida and administered a punishment that forever broke the power of these Indians.

The act, though necessary, was clearly unlawful ; and it brought matters to a crisis. Spain opened negotiations and a treaty was made (1819) by which she sold her possessions in Florida to the United States for the sum of \$5,000,000. The United States also assumed the claims of her own citizens against Spain.

The Southwestern Boundary. — By the treaty of 1819 with Spain, the line between the Louisiana Purchase and the Spanish possessions to the west and southwest was agreed upon, commissioners were appointed to locate it, and the survey was completed in 1821.²

The Northern Boundary. — When the territory of Louisiana was purchased, no definite line was set as its northern boundary ; this boundary, therefore, could be settled only by an agreement with Great Britain. In 1818, representatives of both governments met in London, and the two parties agreed that "the forty-ninth parallel of latitude from a point either due north or due south of the northwest corner of Lake of the Woods, westward to the Stony [Rocky] Mountains" should be the boundary between the two countries.

¹ The Creeks attacked Fort Mimms in Alabama and killed more than five hundred persons (August, 1813). At Horseshoe Bend, on a branch of the Alabama River, Jackson completely defeated them (March, 1814).

² This line follows the Sabine River from its mouth to the thirty-second parallel of north latitude, thence due north to the Red River ; up the Red River to the one hundredth meridian ; north on this meridian to the Arkansas River ; up the Arkansas to its source ; thence due north to the forty-second parallel, and westward on this parallel to the Pacific. It was thus that Spain surrendered her claim to Oregon.

This agreement left the boundary between Oregon and Canada still unsettled, and inasmuch as both Great Britain and the United States claimed the greater part of the territory, it was agreed that the two should occupy it jointly for a period of ten years. By the treaty between Spain and the United States (1819), the forty-second parallel of latitude was made the boundary between the Louisiana territory and Oregon.

In the meantime the Emperor of Russia informed the United States that the Russian government claimed the fifty-first parallel as the southern boundary of Alaska, then a Russian possession. As the Russians had already established a colony in California, President Monroe judged that Russia intended to prevent the United States from having possession of any territory on the Pacific coast. The President at once made a vigorous protest, informing the Emperor of Russia that European nations had no right to plant colonies on the American continent. The raising of this question brought about a very important policy on the part of the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine. 1823. — Hardly had President Monroe raised this question of Russian colonization when a similar question presented itself from a different source. The rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria had formed (1815) what was called the Holy Alliance, and it was suspected that the Alliance was about to attempt to restore to Spain her South American colonies which had revolted and formed independent republics. The United States had formally recognized these new governments, and had sympathy for them in their efforts to maintain themselves as republics.

The secretary of foreign affairs for England proposed (1823) to the American minister at London that the United States should join with England in a protest against any interference of the Holy Alliance with the South American republics. The protest was to state that, while neither power desired any territory in South America, they would not permit the interference of any other country. So the question was laid before President Monroe.

The President did not think it would be proper to join with England in the proposed protest, but it was determined to declare

a policy in language that could not be misunderstood. President Monroe asked Madison and Jefferson their opinion in the matter. They both advised that we use all possible means to prevent the interference of any foreign power in the affairs of South America.

It was under these circumstances that Monroe, in his message to the Congress (December, 1823), announced the doctrine which bears his name. It contained three **The Monroe Doctrine** propositions:—

First, free and independent American countries were not in future to be colonized by any European power.

Second, the monarchical system of Europe was not to be extended to the western hemisphere.

Third, there was to be no intervention by any foreign power in the political affairs of the Spanish-American republics.

An attempt to violate any of these propositions was to be considered as an act of hostility to the United States.

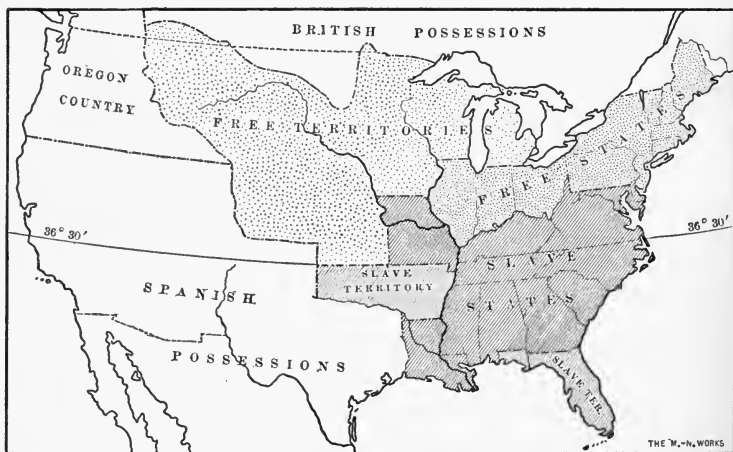
President Monroe intended to announce this doctrine as a policy with which to govern his own administration, but it has governed all subsequent administrations. The doctrine was enthusiastically approved by the people of the United States. Daniel Webster declared that it formed "a bright page in our history." It became an official notice to the nations of the Old World to keep their hands off the feeble republican governments of the New World. It was a bold declaration on the part of a nation less than fifty years old and with no more than ten million people, but it was effectual.

The Alliance never attempted to interfere with Spain's revolted colonies; and from 1823 to the beginning of our great Civil War, no foreign power ever openly disregarded the Monroe Doctrine.

New States admitted. 1816-1821.—The settlement of the Western lands had a far-reaching political effect. The lands of the territory northwest of the Ohio were settled mainly by people from the Northern states. Perhaps the greater number of the people were from New England; certainly New England ideas of politi-

Indiana,
Mississippi,
Illinois,
Alabama,
Maine,
Missouri

cal affairs prevailed. When General Jackson broke the Indian power in the Southwest, a large area of land, including most of Mississippi and Alabama, was thrown open and rapidly settled. The people were mainly from the South, and Southern ideas of political affairs prevailed. In a very short time the settlers of these lands, both North and South, discovered that the safety of their lives and property depended on a better political organization than that afforded by territorial government, and so they



SLAVE AND FREE AREAS AFTER THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

demanded to be admitted as states. In five years, six states¹ joined the Union—Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), Maine (1820), and Missouri (1821).

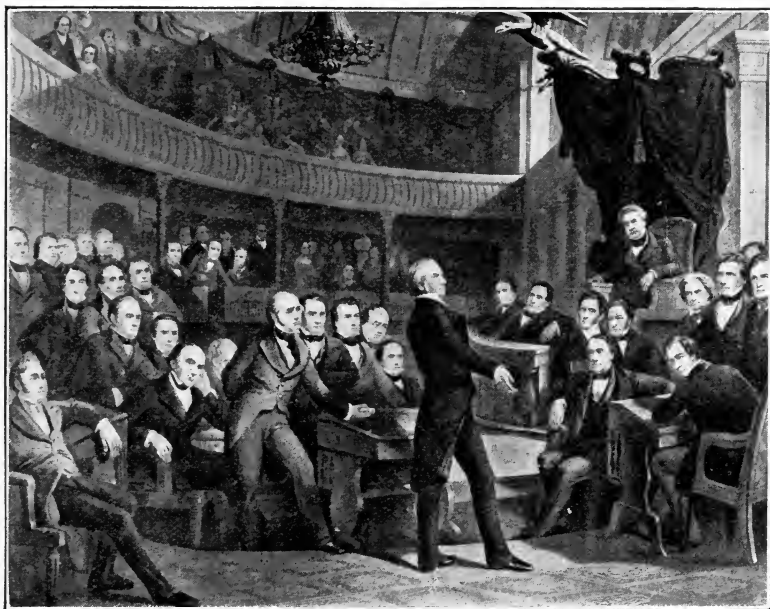
Three of them were slave states and three were free states. The former stood for free trade with foreign countries, the latter were in favor of a protective tariff. Up to 1820 the number of slave states and free states was the same.

In the senate, therefore, the two sides were evenly represented. But when Missouri asked to be admitted, at once

¹ They were respectively the nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth states.

the question arose as to whether there should be any more slave states in the Union.

The Missouri Compromise.—The admission of Missouri to the Union was preceded by an exceedingly bitter controversy leading to an agreement known as the Missouri Compromise. Missouri was part of the Louisiana Purchase, and had been organized as a



From the painting by Rothermel.

CLAY MAKING HIS PLEA FOR COMPROMISE.

territory; in 1818 it applied to the Congress for admission as a state with a constitution allowing slavery, which institution had always existed in that territory. During the consideration of the bill proposing the admission of Missouri, an amendment was offered forbidding the further introduction of slavery and declaring that children born of slaves in the state after its admission to the Union should be free.

The proposed prohibition of slavery in Missouri aroused great

excitement, and produced the first important struggle between the North and the South upon the slavery question. At this time the Northern states had abolished slavery, but in the Southern states slave labor was deemed necessary for the cultivation of cotton. The South was firmly united in the defense of slavery and would not tolerate any restriction of it by the Federal government. Most of the members of the Congress from the free states favored the prohibition of slavery in Missouri; those from the slave states did not deny the right of the Congress to prohibit slavery in a new state, but they declared that such action was despotic and hurtful.

Finally, through the efforts of Henry Clay and other conservative members of the Congress, a compromise bill was passed (March, 1821) that temporarily settled the question. As a matter of fact, however, it satisfied no one. The act provided that —

Missouri should be admitted as a slave state, being offset by Maine which came into the Union as a free state.

Slavery was to be forever prohibited in that part of the Louisiana territory north of latitude 36° 30', and west of Missouri.

Monroe reëlected; the Era of Good Feeling. 1820. — There was no organized opposition to President Monroe, and he was elected for a second term in 1820. The Federal party had dissolved, and the political affairs of the country were controlled by the Democratic-Republicans.¹ Tompkins was reëlected Vice-President. At this time there was general prosperity all over the country, and the period was called "the era of good feeling."

The Tariff of 1816; a Tariff for Protection. — In 1816 the Congress passed a new tariff act especially intended to give protection to the manufacturers of the United States. During the war with England foreign goods had been shut out of the American market, and in consequence there had been a great deal of home manufacture. But when the war had closed, the country was at once flooded with foreign goods, much to the distress of the

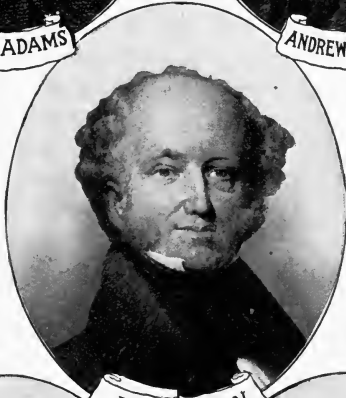
¹ A New Hampshire elector had cast a vote for John Quincy Adams for President, and the vote prevented Monroe's election from being unanimous. He alleged in explanation that he desired that no one but Washington should receive the honor of a unanimous vote.



JOHN Q. ADAMS



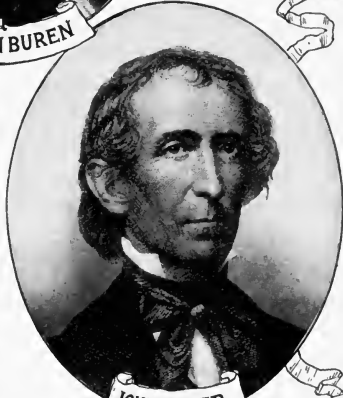
ANDREW JACKSON



M. VAN BUREN



W.H. HARRISON



JOHN TYLER

American manufacturers, who were not able to compete with those of Europe. The American manufacturers, therefore, demanded a higher tariff, which would increase the price on such imported goods as competed with those made in this country. The Congress complied with the demand.

The tariff of 1789¹ was intended mainly for the purpose of raising a revenue sufficient to meet the expenses of the Federal government; that of 1816 brought to public notice the question of the protection of American industries. That the new tariff prevented the closing of many manufacturing establishments cannot be doubted; it was, therefore, a blessing to thousands of workmen who otherwise would have been thrown out of employment. On the other hand, it hurt seriously the Southern cotton planter, who did not live in a manufacturing locality and was compelled to pay higher prices for his supplies.

The Tariff of 1824. — The tariff of 1816 did not satisfy the manufacturing interests of the country, and for several years unsuccessful attempts were made to induce the Congress to give greater protection to American manufactures. There were angry discussions of the principle of protection to manufactures, which at last resulted in the passage of the tariff act of 1824, by a small majority.

The Southern states were firmly opposed to any increase of the tariff; having no manufactures, they gained nothing by it, while they were compelled to pay still more for their necessary supplies as the tariff was increased. With an increased tariff, they claimed that all the profits in cotton growing would be taken from them.

The Northern and Western states, where were located most of the manufacturing establishments, strenuously urged a higher tariff, on the ground that their manufacturers could not compete with foreign manufacturers under the rates fixed by the law of 1816. As a result, not a little bitterness was added to the already unpleasant feeling that had grown up between the two sections of the country.

Adams elected President, 1824. — As there was practically but one party in the United States in 1824, the election in November of that year was a personal contest between John Quincy Adams

¹ See page 191.

of Massachusetts, William H. Crawford of Georgia, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. John Quincy Adams¹ was the successful candidate for President.² John C. Calhoun was elected Vice-President.

Party Lines re-formed. — During President Adams's administration, party lines were again formed. Various political questions, such as the protective tariff and the right of the Federal government to improve highways, rivers, and harbors, **National Republicans** were discussed with a great deal of feeling, and in consequence the Democratic-Republican party was divided. After a time the friends of the President formed a new party called the National Republicans. The National Republicans were believers in the loose construction of the Constitution which characterized the old Federal party. They were in favor of *John Quincy Adams.* a high protective tariff, and held that the Fed-

THE AUTOGRAPH OF ADAMS.

eral government should make any internal improvements that were for the benefit of the country.

The followers of Andrew Jackson united to continue the old Democratic-Republican party organization, but they were known thereafter simply as Democrats. They were strict constructionists; they opposed the protective policy as **Democrats** unconstitutional; and they denied the right of the Federal government to make internal improvements.

The Tariff of 1828. — The revision of the tariff to give greater protection to American industries occasioned an intensely bitter

¹ JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1767-1848) was the son of John Adams and, like his father, a son of Massachusetts and of Harvard. He served as minister to the Netherlands and to Prussia, as United States senator from Massachusetts, as professor at Harvard, as minister to Russia and to England, as secretary of state, and finally as President, 1825-1829. His real laurels, however, were won later as a member of Congress, where, undaunted by opposition, he showed great ability and eloquence. He died, in harness, as the phrase is, in the House of Representatives.

² It was commonly called the scrub race for the presidency. There was not a majority of votes in the electoral college for any one of its four candidates; so, under the Constitution, the House of Representatives elected the President from the three candidates receiving the greater number of electoral votes.

feeling. Higher duties on iron and the manufactures of wool and cotton were especially demanded in the North and as hotly opposed in the South. After a discussion lasting for weeks, the Congress passed (May, 1828), by a small majority, a new bill raising the tariff rates.

The people of the South were very indignant at its passage and called it the Bill of Abominations. In some of the leading Southern cities mass meetings were held, and the act was denounced in violent language. The assertion was made that, under the new tariff, the South would be heavily taxed for the sole benefit of the Northern manufacturers. In South Carolina and Georgia resolutions were passed declaring the tariff act unconstitutional, and urging that it be nullified, that is, disobeyed by the Southern states.

Jackson elected President. 1828.—The revision of the tariff stirred up so much feeling throughout the country that the elec-



THE AUTOGRAPH OF JACKSON.

tion in 1828 was hotly contested.

President Adams was nominated by the National Republicans.

To defeat the party in power was the purpose of the Democrats, and they succeeded. Andrew Jackson¹ was elected President and Calhoun was again made Vice-President.

The Hayne-Webster Debate. 1830.—In a session of the Congress during Jackson's administration there occurred the memorable debate in the Senate between Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina, and Daniel Webster² of Massachusetts. The debate

¹ ANDREW JACKSON (1767-1845) was a native of Waxhaw Settlement, North Carolina. He received little education except such as he picked up in irregular study. He distinguished himself as a soldier, and became a national hero in the war against the Creeks and in the War of 1812. He served as governor of Florida Territory, and as United States senator from Tennessee. His administration as President was a stormy one. He inaugurated the theory that "To the victors belong the spoils." Rough, bold, persistent, and strong of character, "Old Hickory," as he was called, ranks prominently among American heroes.

² DANIEL WEBSTER (1782-1852) was a native of Salisbury, New Hampshire. He graduated from Dartmouth College. In 1813 he entered public life as member of the Congress from New Hampshire. In 1823 he was sent to the Congress from Massachusetts, and thenceforth he served continuously in the Congress and the

came about indirectly from the hostility of the South to the tariff of 1828. There had been threats from the Southern states to nullify the act, but no open attempt to do so had been made.

The debate was occasioned by a resolution limiting the sales of public lands. Senator Hayne criticised the conduct of the manufacturing states, and Webster's reply displeased him. The following day Hayne repeated his criticism of New England and advocated state rights — namely, that a state had the right to nullify the tariff act, or any other law of the Congress which it believed to be unconstitutional.

Webster denied the right of any state to annul a Federal law or to interfere with its operations, whether the law in question was constitutional or not. He maintained that no state had authority to interfere with the exercise of power by the Federal government. The Supreme Court of the United States alone, he said, was the final authority to decide what laws could be made by the Congress under the Constitution.

There was not much more public discussion among the great party leaders about either the tariff or the right of a state to nullify an act of the Congress, but the breach which had been formed between the Northern and the Southern states was materially widened.

The Tariff again Revised. 1832. — The Congress revised the tariff again in 1832, removing most of the features criticised in the tariff of 1828, but the duties were still high. Since the Congress refused to abolish the protective tariff, there was intense excitement in the South, and talk of nullification was once more heard in that section. The people of South Carolina displayed a



SENATOR HAYNE.

John C. Hayne

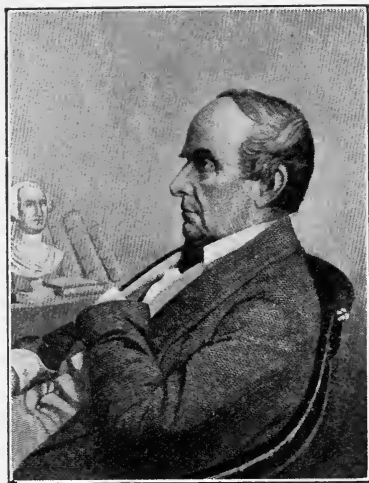
cabinet. His speeches in reply to Hayne in 1830, and in opposition to Calhoun in 1833, constituted him the first of American orators. His words have passed into history as memorable lessons in statesmanship, patriotism, and fairness and squareness.

deep feeling about the matter. They had protested against the act while it was under consideration, and they determined to take steps to resist its enforcement in the state.

The Reëlection of Jackson. 1832.—The Democrats renominated President Jackson for a second term. The National Republicans put in nomination their great leader, Henry Clay. Jackson was elected by a large majority. Martin Van Buren of New York was made Vice-President.

The Nullification Controversy. 1832–1833.—The advocates of state rights and nullification called a convention at Columbia, South Carolina, and this convention adopted (November, 1832) the celebrated Ordinance of Nullification. It declared that the Congress had exceeded its power in enacting protective tariffs. The tariff act of 1832 was pronounced “null and void” and not binding upon South Carolina. It was ordered that no tariff duties should be paid after February 1, 1833, and if the Federal government should attempt to enforce their payment, South Carolina would no longer remain in the Union, but would set up an independent government. The state legislature confirmed the ordinance, and passed the necessary laws to give it effect.

Ordinance of
Nullification



DANIEL WEBSTER.

Dan Webster

issuing his proclamation, the President sent troops and ships of war to Charleston to be ready for any forcible opposition to the collection of the tariff.

President Jackson therefore issued a proclamation urging the people to obey the Federal laws, and stating that “the laws of the United States must be executed.” Shortly after

The controversy excited the whole country. The President's proclamation was heartily approved by the Northern people, Democrats and National Republicans alike. In many states the people passed resolutions endorsing the position of the President and promising military assistance, should it be needed. In the South there was a division upon the question. The legislatures of North Carolina and Tennessee denounced nullification, and declared firmly for the Federal government. Even in South Carolina there was a "Union party," resolved to take no part in the schemes of the nullifiers.

Military preparations were begun in South Carolina immediately after the adoption of the Ordinance of Nullification, and were continued for some time. The state legislature ordered the enlistment of a force of volunteers, which was to be held in readiness to take the field, and the large cities of the state had much the appearance of military stations. It was generally believed that the first attempt to enforce the tariff law would be the beginning of a civil war.

Attitude
of South
Carolina

At the head of the nullifiers were Robert Y. Hayne, then governor of South Carolina, and John C. Calhoun. Calhoun had resigned as Vice-President of the United States for the express purpose of being elected senator from South Carolina, in order that he might become the champion of nullification in the Senate. Calhoun made several powerful speeches in defense of the doctrine, and Webster answered them, claiming that the Supreme Court of the United States, and not the state of South Carolina, must decide whether or not an act of the Congress was right or wrong.

Calhoun-
Webster
debates

The Force Bill. 1833.—In the meantime the Congress passed an act giving the President the power to enforce the tariff act, if need be, by the army and navy of the United States. This act was popularly called the Force Bill. President Jackson threatened to arrest Calhoun for treason if he counseled further resistance to the collection of duties.

Henry Clay brings about a Reduction of the Tariff. 1833.—At this time Henry Clay, the leader of the protectionists, introduced a bill in the Congress for a gradual reduction of the tariff. The

reduction was to extend through nine years, until the rates reached the point at which they should exist as a tariff for revenue only. Clay had always been a strong advocate for protection, but now he saw that a gradual reduction of the tariff would avert the danger of a civil war. He believed that his compromise measure



HENRY CLAY.

A stylized, cursive signature of Henry Clay. The letters are large and flowing, with a prominent 'H' and 'C'.

would satisfy South Carolina and the other Southern states, and would restore harmony to the country. At the same time the slow reduction of the tariff rates would enable the manufacturers of the North and the West to arrange their business so as to avoid disaster from sudden competition with foreign goods.

The nullifiers decided that they would not resist the collection of the tariff at that time, but would wait until after the Congress adjourned. Before that time, however, the compromise tariff had become a law by a large majority of votes. South Carolina accepted the compromise and repealed the Ordinance of Nullification.

Rotation in Office. — During President Jackson's two terms, a great many officeholders, such as revenue collectors, land agents, postmasters, and depart-

ment clerks, were removed from office for political reasons, and their places were given to what were known as "Jackson men." The system of rotation in office was thus established. It was thought to be a very democratic system and beneficial to the country, because it gave to every citizen a chance for

office.¹ In accordance with this idea, the subordinate offices of the government were generally bestowed as compensation for political services. Every President from 1829 to 1883 followed this plan in filling the offices. In the latter year the present method of selecting candidates by competitive examinations, called the civil service system, came into use.

Jackson and the United States Bank. 1831-1836.—The bank of the United States had been rechartered by the Congress in 1816 for a term of twenty years.² Jackson did not believe in a national bank and, knowing that the charter would soon run out, he determined to do all that he could to weaken the bank. By skillful management the bank had become the most important financial institution in the United States. It had become not only a financial power, but a tremendous political factor as well, and it was said that "great financiers, merchant princes, eminent statesmen, were its fawning servants, ready to do its bidding"; certain it is that it had become a public scandal. All the funds of the Federal government were held and disbursed by it, and it acted in all financial matters as the government's agent. Jackson, like most other Democrats, believed that the bank had grown corrupt from its great authority, that it was a danger to the country on account of its power, and that it should be put out of existence. He therefore determined to curb it, and carried out his purpose so well that he caused its destruction as a government institution.

The power
of the
bank

In 1831 application was made to the Congress for a renewal of the charter for fifteen years. The Democrats were generally opposed to a government bank, but the National Republicans favored the idea. For five months the two parties in the Congress fought over the rechartering of the bank. In the Senate, Clay and Webster did all they could to aid the bank, while Thomas Benton of Missouri led the opposition to it as the President's champion. In spite of the earnest efforts of the Democrats, an act to recharter the bank was passed,

The charter
vetoed

¹ Critics have called it the "spoils system" from an expression in a speech by Senator Marcy, "To the victors belong the spoils of the enemy."

² See page 230.

but it was vetoed by the President. The friends of the measure could not muster the vote of two thirds which was necessary to pass it over the President's veto. The reelection of Jackson was regarded as the popular approval of his policy.

In a message to the Congress the President urged that an examination of the bank's affairs be made. He expressed doubts as to the safety of the government's money in the bank, then amounting to about \$10,000,000, and recommended that the money be removed. The Congress would not order an investigation; the President therefore (1833) ordered the secretary of the treasury to remove the government deposits from the bank. The secretary refused, and Jackson removed him from office and appointed Roger B. Taney in his place. Secretary Taney complied with the order.

The government then gradually drew its money from the bank to pay its current expenses. All future deposits, instead of being made in the bank, were to be placed in certain state banks which came to be known as pet banks. The bank of the United States therefore ceased to be a government institution after its charter had expired in 1836. It became a state bank under a charter from the state of Pennsylvania, but its political power was broken, and in 1840 it ended its existence.

The bank
discontinued

Van Buren elected President. 1836.—The Democratic candidate for President in 1836 was Martin Van Buren¹ of New York. At this time the National Republicans nominated General William Henry Harrison of Ohio. Van Buren was elected, with Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky as Vice-President.



THE AUTOGRAPH OF VAN BUREN.

Party Platforms. 1836.—The National Republicans of New York had vigorously protested against President Jackson's action

¹ MARTIN VAN BUREN (1782-1862) was born at Kinderhook, New York. He began his study of the law at the age of fourteen, and was speedily admitted to the bar. He was in succession United States senator, governor of New York, secretary of state, and Vice-President. In 1837 he became the eighth President. He furthered the establishment of the independent treasury system. His last years were spent in travel in Europe and in retirement at Kinderhook. He possessed in a remarkable degree the power of winning personal trust and influence

in the bank matter, and had likened him to the English king, George the Third, whom the American Whigs of Revolutionary days had fought. They assumed the name of Whigs because they opposed Jackson, who, they declared, was a kind of tyrant. The name pleased the National Republicans throughout the country, and was soon adopted by the party. The Whigs favored the old Federal party's loose construction of the Constitution, a protective tariff, a government bank, and internal improvements by the government. Upon the various questions concerning slavery, which were then beginning to agitate the public, they were about evenly divided, like the Democratic party.

The Whigs

The Democrats were true to the Jeffersonian principles. They insisted that the Constitution should be construed by the very letter of the law, in order that the national government should not have too much power and thus be dangerous to the people. They approved of the President's action in the matter of the bank, and disapproved a protective tariff and of internal improvements by the government. They believed that the states should make their own canals, highways, and other improvements, and not expect the general government to do the work.

The Democrats

Public Funds loaned for State Improvements. 1836. — In 1836 it was announced that the public debt had been virtually paid, and that there were surplus funds in the national treasury amounting to about \$35,000,000. In consequence, the Congress enacted that all the surplus in excess of \$5,000,000 should be loaned to the states to aid them in their development. The loan was to be recalled only by an act of the Congress. During 1836–1837 \$28,000,000 were distributed among the states. None of this was ever recalled.

The Independent Treasury Plan. 1840. — The independent treasury plan, now in use by the national government, was first proposed by President Van Buren. A dreadful financial panic in 1837 caused a demand for relief measures by the government. The Whigs clamored for another national bank. Van Buren thought the government should be its own banker, and he recom-

mended the adoption of an "independent or subtreasury plan," by which the government was to have a main treasury at Washington and subtreasuries in other cities. All the government money was to be deposited in these treasuries, and not in the



THE TREASURY BUILDING AT WASHINGTON.

state banks, as was then the practice. According to Van Buren's plan, an independent treasury was established in 1840.¹

New States. 1836–1837.—During Van Buren's administration two new states were added to the Union, the first in the fifteen years that had elapsed since the Missouri Compromise. Arkansas, the twenty-fifth state, was admitted in 1836; Michigan, the twenty-sixth state, was admitted in 1837. The former was a slave, the latter a free state.

The Election of Harrison and Tyler. 1840.—The election of 1840 was one of the most exciting ever known in the United States. The Democrats renominated President Van Buren. Van Buren's administration had been marked by financial troubles due to the closing of the United States Bank and to the establishment of worthless banks all over the country. He and his party were therefore in great disfavor. William Henry Harrison² of Ohio

¹ The subtreasuries were established in Boston, New York, Charleston, and St. Louis. The mint was at Philadelphia.

² WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (1773–1841) was born in Charles City County, Virginia. He represented the Northwest Territory as delegate to the Congress,

was the candidate of the Whigs. An anti-slavery candidate was nominated by a party that was rapidly growing in numbers. General Harrison was a plain farmer, whose good hard sense had brought him to the front; he had shown himself a great soldier and a good statesman. As the "log-cabin" candidate of the farmers he received almost universal support, and the Democrats were defeated after being nearly forty years in power.



THE AUTOGRAPH OF HARRISON.

Harrison died after he had been in office only one month, and Vice-President Tyler¹ then became President.

National Bank Acts Vetoed. — Early in President Tyler's administration, the Whigs succeeded in passing an act for the establishment of a national bank, somewhat like the former bank of the United States, but the President, believing that a national bank was unconstitutional, vetoed the measure. A second bill in different form was also vetoed, and could not be passed over the veto. The President's action angered the party leaders, and all the members of his cabinet except Webster resigned. Webster remained until the settlement of treaty negotiations with England and then



THE AUTOGRAPH OF TYLER.

withdrew. President Tyler was promptly "read out of the party." The Whigs had to abandon the project of a national bank, and it has never been revived.

The Tariff. 1842-1861. — By the terms of the Compromise Act of 1833,² which settled the nullification storm, the tariff rates on

and was governor of Indiana Territory. He defeated the Indians in the important battle of Tippecanoe (1811), and served as major-general in the War of 1812, winning the victory of the Thames. He was in turn representative and United States senator from Ohio. In 1840 he became the ninth President by a large majority.

¹ JOHN TYLER (1790-1862) was born at Greenway, Virginia. He was educated at William and Mary College. Shortly after his admission to the bar, he entered upon a political career which saw him member of the Congress, governor of Virginia, United States senator, and, in 1840, Vice-President. On the death of President Harrison, he became, by virtue of his office, the tenth President. In 1861 he was a member of the peace conference at Washington, and was elected to the Confederate Provisional Congress.

² See page 259.

July 1, 1846, were not to exceed twenty per cent, which was considered below the point which gave protection to manufactures. But when the time came for the revenue tariff to be reduced to twenty per cent, it was found that such a low rate would not produce revenue enough to pay the expenses of the government. Therefore a new tariff was necessary. The Whigs passed the Tariff Act of 1842, which raised the rates to an average of thirty per cent; but four years afterward the Democrats repealed the act and enacted in its place the Walker Tariff Act, under which the rates ranged from five to one hundred per cent. The revenue from this tariff was large, and in some years it was more than was required. In 1857 the tariff was revised and many reductions were made; then in 1861 the outbreak of the Civil War put an end to the matter for several years.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty. 1842. — The long-standing dispute about the northeast boundary of the United States, as laid down in the treaty of 1783, at the close of the Revolutionary War, was settled in 1842. A treaty was negotiated at Washington by Secretary of State Daniel Webster, and Lord Ashburton, commissioner for Great Britain. The boundary, as finally agreed upon, gave some additional territory to New York and New Hampshire, and took some away from Maine.

Polk elected President. 1844. — The presidential election of 1844 resulted in a victory for the Democrats. James K. Polk¹ of Tennessee and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania were elected over Henry Clay of Kentucky and Theodore Frelinghuysen of New York.

Florida Admitted. 1845. — Florida, the twenty-seventh state, was admitted into the Union on the last day of President Tyler's administration.

The Oregon Country. — As has been previously noted,² the treaty of 1818 left the territory of Oregon to be held jointly by Great

¹ JAMES KNOX POLK (1795-1849) was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. He was a graduate of the University of North Carolina (1818). He undertook the practice of law in Columbia, Tennessee. His life was largely devoted to politics; he was member of the Congress from Tennessee for fourteen years, and governor for three years. In 1844 he was chosen the eleventh President. Not brilliant, but eminent, just, and upright, he won the respect even of his opponents.

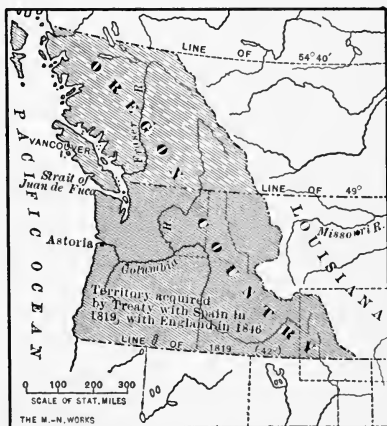
² See page 248.

Britain and the United States; another agreement in 1827 continued the same arrangement for an indefinite time, either party having the right to end the agreement on a year's notice. Being north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ all the domain was free soil, according to the Missouri Compromise.

Early in the '30's some Indians of the far West journeyed to St. Louis in search of a Bible, about which they had learned through Jesuit missionaries. This interesting fact having become known, a number of missionaries of various denominations made their way to Oregon. Among them was Marcus Whitman. Reports of the country that were sent back by the missionaries were so promising that many people in search of good farms were persuaded to settle in the Oregon country. Indeed, so many came

Marcus Whitman, the settlement of Oregon

that the English fur traders were alarmed, and they in turn arranged to have an English colony go to the territory. Whitman saw that nothing but prompt action would save the territory to the Americans, and therefore crossed the continent in mid-winter in order to interest the leaders at Washington. Whitman convinced the leading congressmen that the Oregon country was worth the struggle to hold it. He created so much public interest in the matter that in the next few years the population



THE OREGON COUNTRY.

of the region increased to more than ten thousand.

As a result, in 1846, the United States and Great Britain made a new treaty in regard to the boundary of Oregon. The United States had always claimed the region as far as the Alaska line, latitude $54^{\circ} 40'$ north, but the English had disputed the claim and asserted that the Columbia

Boundary established

River was the right boundary. All north of the river was claimed as British possessions. In the presidential campaign of 1844 the Oregon dispute had been a political issue, and the Democrats had used the rallying cries of, "Fifty-four forty or fight," and "The whole of Oregon or none, with or without war with England." By the treaty made in Washington in June, 1846, the Oregon boundary was fixed at the forty-ninth parallel. That part of the region which passed to England was named British Columbia. Oregon was made a territory in 1848; out of it were subsequently created the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

SUMMARY

During Monroe's administration the United States bought Florida from Spain, in 1819, for \$5,000,000.

The northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was determined by a treaty with Great Britain, from the Lake of the Woods west to the Rocky Mountains, and the southern boundary by a treaty with Spain.

The Monroe Doctrine, set forth in 1823, declared that American countries were neither to be colonized nor to be conquered by European powers.

In 1820 the Congress adopted the Missouri Compromise, which forbade slavery north of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ and west of Missouri.

The tariff, originally passed in 1789 to raise a revenue for government expenses, was increased in 1816, and again in 1824.

During John Quincy Adams's administration, the tariff was again increased in 1828; the act was termed the Bill of Abominations.

During Jackson's first term, the tariff was slightly reduced. During his second term, the people of South Carolina, in opposition to the tariff, passed the Ordinance of Nullification. Henry Clay kept peace by an act gradually reducing the tariff.

President Jackson withdrew the public funds from the United States Bank and prevented the renewal of its charter.

During Van Buren's administration, the surplus of public funds was apportioned among the states for public improvements. The plan of subtreasuries for the deposit and payment of public funds was adopted.

During the first month of his administration, President Harrison died, and Vice-President Tyler became President. The tariff was in-

creased in order to raise a revenue sufficient for the expenses of the government.

During Polk's administration, the forty-ninth parallel was made the boundary between Oregon and British America.

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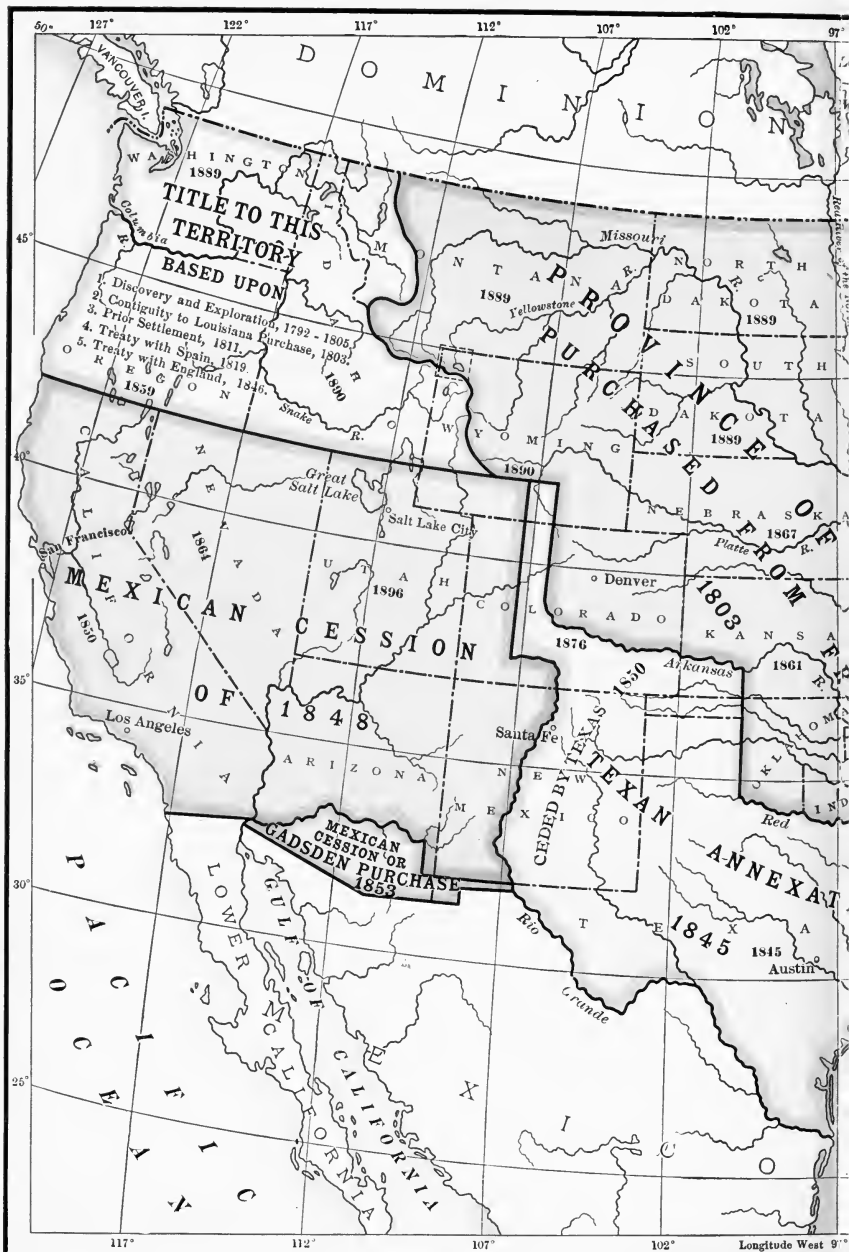
CHAPTER XVII

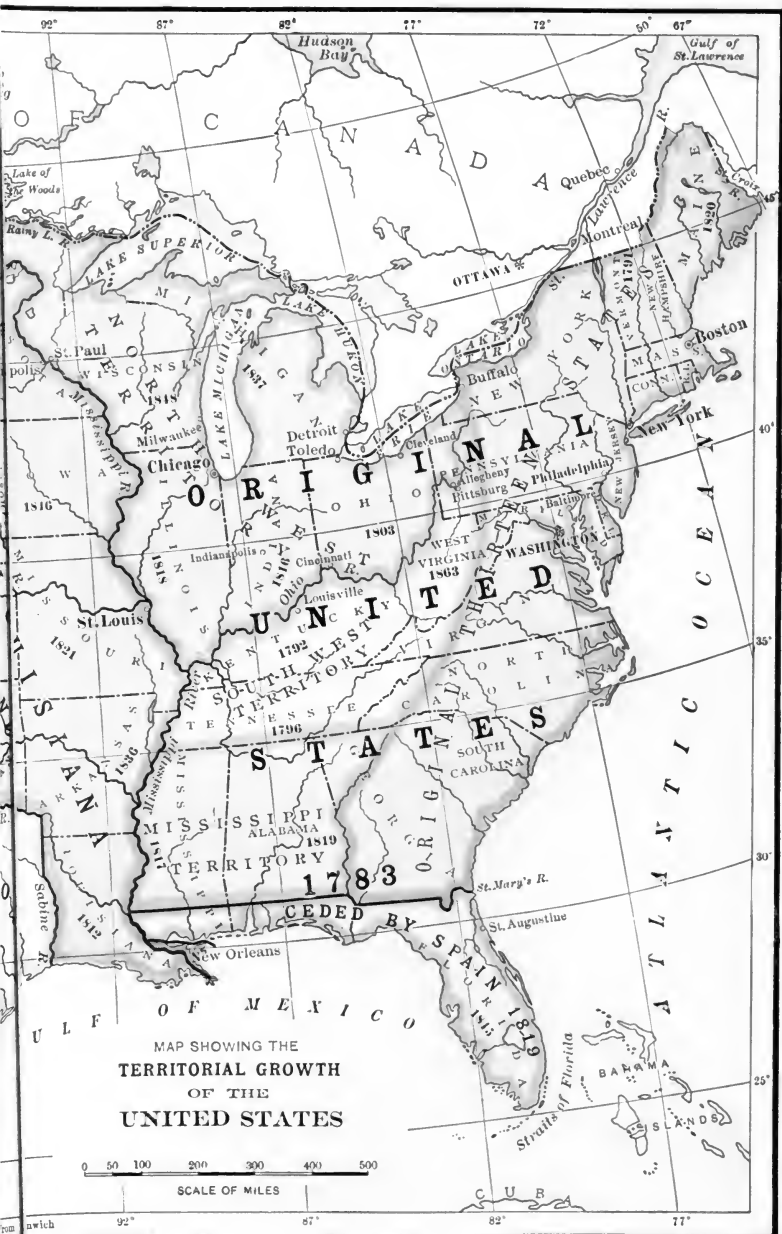
THE EXPANSION OF SLAVERY; POLITICAL EVENTS; INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS. 1845-1860

Slavery Agitation. — After the Missouri Compromise of 1820 the slavery controversy in the Congress was settled for a time.

Slavery in Illinois But it was only a period of lull before a great storm; the advocates and the opponents of slavery were organizing and gaining strength. In the free state of Illinois at one time it looked as if the institution of slavery might be legalized by state action. Every free negro in Illinois was required to have a certificate of freedom from the clerk of the county in which he lived. If he were without this document, he could be seized as a runaway and sold into service for one year. On account of the lawless character of free negroes, many of whom were living in idleness, some such law was necessary; but it was shamefully abused. Unfortunately, many peaceful and industrious negroes were thus seized and rushed across the river into Missouri, where they were sold into slavery. Many others were kept indefinitely in servitude after their terms had expired. Indeed, actual slavery was practiced in open violation of the law.

When the slaveholders of Illinois discovered that the best negroes were being carried over the river into Missouri, they attempted to make Illinois a slave state, pure and simple. This, the antislavery party said, could not be done because the Ordinance of 1787 forbade slavery in the Northwest Territory. In reply to this, the proslavery party pointed out that southern Illinois had been a part of Virginia, and when the lands were ceded to the Federal government, it was agreed that the settlers "should have their possessions confirmed to them." Slaves, they declared, were lawful possessions; therefore the constitution





of Illinois might be amended so as to make it a slave state. The question was submitted to a popular election, and the anti-slavery party won by a small plurality.

By this time, a wave of antislavery sentiment had inflamed the whole country. Antislavery parties were formed all over the North; the proslavery friends met the movement with firm opposition. An antislavery paper, the *Liberator*, edited by William Lloyd Garrison at Boston, achieved national reputation. Another, the *Observer*, published at Alton, Illinois, so angered the proslavery party that a mob wrecked the office and murdered Elijah Lovejoy, the editor.

Antislavery
sentiment



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. I.]

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OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE HUMANITY.

[SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1831.]

THE HEADING OF THE LIBERATOR.

In the Congress a hostile feeling grew up. The Congress was besieged with petitions to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, where it then existed. Finally the discussion became so bitter that a rule was passed (1836) forbidding any petition relating to slavery to be received. This rule was commonly known as the Gag Rule; in a strict sense it violated the Constitution,¹ but it seemed to be necessary to prevent Congressional business from being blocked by the reading of numberless petitions. It was adopted by each succeeding Congress for a number of years.

The Gag
Rule

¹ See Constitution, Article I of Amendments. John Quincy Adams, who had just begun his congressional career (1831), vigorously defended the constitutional right of petition. Thousands of antislavery petitions were sent to him for presentation to Congress.

Texas secedes from Mexico.—The proslavery party had been looking for an opportunity to extend the slaveholding area, and the vast country of Texas offered an inviting field. **The ownership of Texas** For a number of years prior to 1845, the proposed annexation of the republic of Texas to the United States

was a matter of not a little political discussion. The immense country of Texas then had an area of more than three hundred thousand square miles. It had been claimed by the Americans as a part of the province of Louisiana, which the United States purchased from France in 1803. Spain always declared, however, that Texas belonged to her colony of Mexico; and so (1819), after lengthy negotiations, the United States gave up the region to Spain, and took in exchange the Spanish possession of Florida.¹

The Spanish authorities of Texas, desirous of peopling the fertile region, invited immigration from foreign countries, including the United States, and as a result several colonies were established in the Texan coast district. **The Austin colony** The largest of these colonies was composed of settlers from the United States. It was established by Stephen F. Austin, whose father had received an extensive land grant from the Spanish authorities but had died before making a settlement. The son carried out the father's plans, and the Austin colony grew so rapidly that it soon had twenty thousand inhabitants. Thus it came about that the settlers in Texas were mainly American; they came from the Southern states and brought their slaves with them.

The Mexicans revolted against Spanish rule, and (1821) finally became an independent republic consisting of a number of states joined in a federation something like that of the United States. **The republic of Mexico** The Spanish provinces of Coahuila and Texas were united and formed one of the states of Mexico.²

In 1834 another revolution began in Mexico, and General Santa Anna, a famous Mexican soldier who called himself the "Napoleon of the West," placed himself at the head of the government as dictator.

¹ See page 247.

² In 1824 the Mexican Congress forbade the importation of slaves, and in 1829 abolished slavery altogether.

The people of Texas would not submit to the usurpation of Santa Anna, and declared that resistance to such tyranny was a duty. They raised an army to defend their rights, and issued a formal declaration of independence. To maintain their independence, the Texans formed a volunteer army, commanded by Sam Houston, which was reënforced by many good fighting men from the United States.

The independence
of Texas

The Mexicans attacked the town of San Antonio and for two weeks attempted to capture it, but without success, although less than two hundred Texans defended it. The defenders occupied an inclosure called the Alamo. Several thousand Mexican troops, led by Santa Anna, made a furious assault on the Alamo. In the third charge they mounted the walls and entered the inclosure. The Texans fought until every one was slain. Another battle occurred near Goliad, in which about three hundred Texans were massacred after surrendering. Finally, the armies met at the San Jacinto River (April, 1835) in a decisive battle. The Mexican army was almost annihilated.



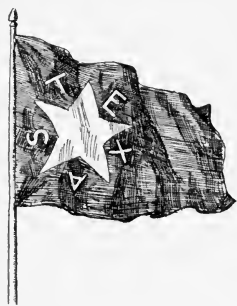
GENERAL HOUSTON.

Sam Houston

The Republic of Texas. 1836-1845.—After the battle of San Jacinto little effort was made by Mexico to reconquer Texas. General Houston was chosen president of the republic, and the government was thoroughly organized. The constitution of Texas recognized slavery, and its code on that subject was borrowed from the slave codes of the Southern states. Texas was formally recog-

nized by the United States and by European powers. Mexico, however, would never recognize it, but always maintained that it was merely a rebellious Mexican state, which would eventually be subdued. The people of Texas became desirous of annexation to the United States, but there was so much opposition to this proposal in many parts of the North and the West that it failed, mainly because Texas had established slavery.

The Annexation of Texas. 1845. — In the latter part of Tyler's administration the matter of annexation was again urged, and with a successful result. At this time John C. Calhoun, the leader of the proslavery party, was the secretary of state. Calhoun was earnestly in favor of annexation, for Texas was a slave-holding republic, and he believed that several slave states might be formed out of it. If this could be brought about, it would greatly increase the power of the South in national affairs.



THE "LONE STAR" FLAG
OF THE REPUBLIC OF
TEXAS.

Calhoun frankly stated that his chief object in annexation was to advance the interests of slavery and to extend its influence. He believed, moreover, that if Texas were not taken into the American Union, it would speedily form an alliance with Great Britain, and such an alliance would be a detriment to the United States. So President Tyler secretly negotiated a treaty of annexation with the authorities of Texas, and (April, 1844) presented it to the Senate for ratification.

The Senate discussed the annexation treaty for some time, but finally rejected it. It was very generally favored by the Southern senators, but the senators from the free states, Whigs and Democrats alike, opposed it. Some thought it would bring on a war with Mexico; others were opposed to the extension of slavery. Many objected to the treaty because the question of annexation had not been submitted to the ordeal of public opinion, and it was deemed unwise to ratify the treaty before the popular sentiment had been ascertained.

Arguments
for annexa-
tion

Arguments
against
annexation

It was freely declared, moreover, that the President had exceeded his authority in making the treaty of annexation.

The presidential election of 1844 turned largely upon the annexation of Texas. The Democratic party demanded annexation, and the success of their candidate for President, James K. Polk, was taken as an expression of public opinion in favor of annexation. Therefore, when the Congress met, resolutions for the admission of Texas as a state of the Union under certain conditions were passed. President Tyler signed them the same day — only three days before the expiration of his term of office.

The election
of 1844

Texas admitted to the Union. 1845. — The Congress of Texas promptly assented to all conditions imposed by the United States. A people's convention adopted a state constitution (July 4, 1845) and took the steps necessary to become a member of the American Union. Texas, the twenty-eighth state, was admitted to the United States (1845), after having been an independent republic for nine years. It then had a population of more than two hundred thousand.¹ It was the last slave state admitted to the Union.



THE AUTOGRAPH OF POLK.

Mexico declares War. 1846. — Soon after Texas had been admitted to the Union, the Mexican minister at Washington notified President Polk that Mexico considered the annexation a most unjust act and a cause for war. He then demanded his passports and left the country. A few weeks afterward the American minister to Mexico, finding that he could not transact business with the Mexican government, returned to the United States.

¹ In the resolutions for admission it was provided that the state of Texas was to be formed subject to the adjustment by the United States of all questions of boundary that might arise with other governments. It was also provided that new states, "not exceeding four in number," might be formed out of the original state, with its consent, and thereafter admitted to the Union. The states so admitted, lying south of the so-called Missouri Compromise line, 36° 30', were to have slavery or not as their people might decide; and in those states lying north of the line slavery was to be forever prohibited. In entering the Union, Texas ceded to the general government a narrow strip of land in the "pan handle," north of the parallel of 36° 30'. This subsequently became a part of Oklahoma.

As an invasion of Texas was threatened by Mexico, ships of war and an army, in command of General Zachary Taylor, were sent to the Gulf of Mexico. General Taylor established his troops at Corpus Christi, on the Nueces River. From the Nueces River to the Rio Grande, a distance of more than a hundred miles, the territory was in dispute. Both Texas and Mexico claimed it. President Polk endeavored to negotiate with the Mexican government for a peaceful settlement of the trouble, but an envoy sent to the City of Mexico could accomplish nothing.

Mexican troops began to gather near the Rio Grande; therefore the secretary of war ordered General Taylor to take a position on the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoros in Mexico. The troops were met by Mexican officials, who protested against the occupation of what they called the "soil of Mexico." General Taylor paid no attention to the protest, and in a few days it was proclaimed by Mexico that, unless the Americans retired from the Rio Grande within a specified time, the occupation would be considered an act of war. The Americans did not retire, and hostilities were begun (April, 1846). Shortly afterward battles were fought at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in which the Mexican army was defeated. General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande and captured Matamoros.

The Wilmot Proviso. 1846. — Realizing that the United States would probably acquire territory from Mexico, Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced in the Congress a measure forbidding slavery in any territory that might be gained from Mexico, inasmuch as Mexico (1829) had already abolished slavery. The discussion of the Wilmot Proviso, as it was called, reopened the whole question of slavery. The measure passed the House, but failed in the Senate. The real effect of the bill was not expected either by its author or by its opponents. It started a current of thought in the North that resulted in the formation of the Free-Soil party, which proposed that the territories should be open only to free persons.

General Taylor invades Mexico. 1846-1847. — For nearly two years the war with Mexico continued. After the American occu-

pation of Matamoras, the Mexican army, ten thousand in number, fell back to Monterey, a strongly fortified city. General Taylor laid siege to the city. The troops soon carried the outer works, and then, step by step, fought their way into the city and compelled its surrender. By the close of 1846 the Americans held good positions in the enemy's country.

In the following year General Taylor encountered a Mexican army of twenty thousand, commanded by General Santa Anna, in the mountain pass of Buena Vista. As the Mexicans greatly outnumbered the Americans, Santa Anna sent word to Taylor that he had better surrender without fighting. For an answer Taylor began battle immediately. All day long until past nightfall the armies contended. At midnight Santa Anna withdrew his troops.

The Occupation of New Mexico and California. 1846. — A body of troops, the Army of the West, was organized and placed in charge of General Stephen Kearney. It was composed chiefly of volunteers from the Western states, and had been formed for the purpose of taking New Mexico and California, which were at that time a part of Mexico. Kearney advanced with his army from Fort Leavenworth (Kansas), and after a toilsome march of a thousand miles arrived at Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, in August. The Mexican troops abandoned the city when the Americans approached, and Santa Fé was taken without the firing of a gun. Kearney left troops to hold the territory, and then started for California with six hundred men.



THE MEXICAN WAR.

But California was already safe. When the American settlers there learned that war had been declared, they began to organize, fearing they might be attacked. A quick, concerted movement was made, and the Americans declared California an independent republic. At Monterey, they hoisted a flag on which had been stained a picture of a grizzly bear; and the bear is an emblem of California to this day. Captain John C. Frémont and Commodore Stockton were both in California at the time, and they supported the Americans. When General Kearney reached California, the work cut out for him had been done.



THE FLAG OF CALIFORNIA.

Scott captures Vera Cruz and occupies the City of Mexico. 1847. — General Winfield Scott began an invasion of Mexico in March, 1847. He landed near Vera Cruz with an army of about twelve thousand men and invested the city, which was fortified so strongly that the Mexicans believed it impregnable. The American commander demanded the surrender of the city, and when the demand was refused began a furious bombardment. In a few days (April 29, 1847) the city surrendered.



Winfield Scott.

General Scott marched toward the Mexican capital. At Cerro Gordo, Santa Anna with a large army gave battle, but was routed. Jalapa and Perote were captured, and shortly afterward La Puebla surrendered without resistance. The army, eleven thousand strong, made an assault on Contreras and soon occupied it. Then San

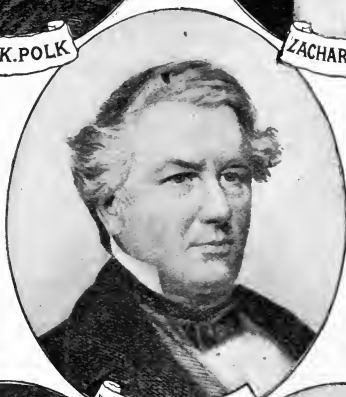
Antonio and the heights of Cherubusco were carried after desperate fighting. Molino del Rey and the castle of Chapultepec were also captured. Then the Mexican army abandoned the City of Mexico,



JAMES K. POLK



ZACHARY TAYLOR



MILLARD FILLMORE



FRANKLIN PIERCE



JAMES BUCHANAN

and (September 14, 1847) General Scott and his men marched into the city.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. 1848. — The capture of the Mexican capital practically ended the war. On February 2, 1848, a treaty of peace was signed at the Mexican town of Guadalupe Hidalgo. It was agreed that the Rio Grande and the Gila River should be the boundary between the United States and Mexico.

For the land relinquished by Mexico,¹ the United States agreed to pay \$15,000,000, besides assuming debts of \$3,500,000 due from Mexico to American citizens. On the 4th of July, 1848, peace was proclaimed by President Polk. The military achievements of the Mexican War reflect credit upon American soldiers; but the diplomacy that forced the war upon Mexico was not commendable.

Frémont explores the American Desert and reaches California. — Long before the Mexican War, Lewis and Clark had explored the



JOHN C. FRÉMONT.

J. C. Frémont

region about the headwaters of the Missouri and the Columbia,² and Captain Bonneville had reached the headwaters of the Colorado. Public interest centered about the southwestern country, and John C. Frémont, then a lieutenant of the regular army, was ordered in 1842 to find an available route of travel through it.

Frémont set out from Kansas City (1842), crossed the level plateau still known as the Plains, and made his way through the gap in the Rockies now called South Pass. He thence proceeded to the Great American Desert, which he found to be far less formidable than had been supposed. He returned within a year and was ordered to undertake further explorations.

¹ The area acquired from Mexico comprises the present states of California, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona, and portions of New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming. See map following page 270.

² See page 210.

On his second trip Frémont crossed to Great Salt Lake, turned northward to the present site of Walla Walla, Oregon, descended the Columbia River to the Dalles and Fort Vancouver, and then threaded his way through the Willamette Valley southward to Sacramento, California. He visited Sutter's sawmill in Coloma, where afterward James W. Marshall found gold. By this time the relations between the United States and Mexico had become much strained. Frémont remained in California until the declaration of war gave him the opportunity to win California for the United States. He was well named the "Pathfinder."

Taylor elected President. 1848.—In the presidential election of 1848, the Free-Soil party, an organization composed largely of anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats, made itself felt. The formation of the new party came about because the annexation of Texas threatened in time to add several slave states to the Union. This would break the equality between the slave and free states, which had thus far been preserved in the Senate. In the House of Representatives, where representation is in proportion to the population of the various states, the equality had long since been lost, because the free states had grown in population more rapidly than the slave states. The Free-Soil candidate was ex-President Van Buren; the Democratic candidate was Lewis Cass of Michigan. In the campaign a great deal of enthusiasm was shown for General Zachary Taylor,¹ the Whig candidate. On



THE AUTOGRAPH OF TAYLOR.

account of his services in the Mexican War he was a favorite, and was elected. This brought the Whigs again into power.

The Nicaragua Ship Canal and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. 1849.—In April, 1849, an agreement known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty²

¹ ZACHARY TAYLOR (1784-1850) was born in Orange County, Virginia. Entering the army as first lieutenant in 1808, he began his long and triumphant career as a soldier. He fought in the War of 1812, was assigned to the chief command of Florida (1838), and later of the Southwest, and fought in the Mexican War. His soldiers called him "Old Rough and Ready," and it was by this name that he was hailed enthusiastically by all his countrymen. In 1849 he became the twelfth President.

² The treaty was several times withdrawn for amendment, and it was subse-

was negotiated in Washington by John M. Clayton, secretary of state, and Sir Henry Bulwer, British minister to the United States. The treaty related to a proposed ship canal across Nicaragua, in Central America, which should connect the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. Neither party to the treaty was to obtain exclusive control of the canal, erect fortifications commanding the same, or exercise dominion in Central America. The project was dropped, however, for the time being. After the Spanish-American War in 1898, it became evident that the United States ought to undertake the construction of an inter-oceanic canal.

Gold in California. 1848.—The discovery of gold at Coloma, in the foothills of the Sierras, by James W. Marshall, caused



"FORTY-NINERS" EXAMINING SAND IN SEARCH OF GOLD.

throngs of people to emigrate to that region.¹ During the first year of the gold discovery millions of dollars of the precious metal were obtained, and year by year, to the present time, there has been a large production. In one year (1852) the gold product was valued at \$81,000,000. The rush of gold seekers

increased the population, not only of California, but of other Pacific coast territory as well. In 1848 San Francisco was a settlement of about four hundred people; in 1850 it had thirty

quently learned that the treaty which the Senate ratified was not the form agreed upon by the commissioners.

¹ Gold had been obtained in southern California in 1839. Marshall's discovery at Sutter's mill, however, was the event that led to the emigration to California. Marshall was afterward pensioned by the state. He died in 1893.

thousand, and in the whole Pacific region there was a population of nearly two hundred thousand.

The Death of President Taylor. 1849. — On July 29, 1849, President Taylor died suddenly in the Executive Mansion at Washington. He had been President only one year and four months. Vice-President Fillmore¹ immediately assumed the office of chief executive.



THE AUTOGRAPH OF FILLMORE.

The Slavery Question Again. — The doctrine of popular sovereignty was brought forward in 1850 by Lewis Cass, in a speech in the Senate. The doctrine, in effect, was that the Congress should have nothing further to do with slavery in the territories, but should leave the people of each territory to decide whether or not they should have slaves. The adoption of such a plan, of course, would nullify the Missouri Compromise.

Popular
sovereignty

When the Congress attempted to organize New Mexico as a territory, the antislavery members had demanded that the Wilmot Proviso prohibiting slavery should be added to the act, while the advocates of slavery extension had strenuously insisted that the territory should be allowed to have popular sovereignty.

Among the matters which produced political excitement was the application of California, then under a government organized by the settlers themselves, for authority to become a state, in 1850. The Northern states favored the application, but in the South there was a determined opposition to it, because California, having adopted a constitution forbidding slavery, would become a free state. Following the admission of Texas, two free states had come into the Union, Iowa in 1846 and Wisconsin in 1848. There were then thirty states in the Union, — fifteen free states and fifteen slave states,

The
balance in
the Senate

¹ MILLARD FILLMORE (1800-1874) was a native of Cayuga County, New York. He began his practice of the law in Aurora, New York. He was chosen member of the Congress, comptroller of the state of New York, and in 1848 was elected Vice-President. On the death of President Taylor he became the thirteenth President. He made Daniel Webster his secretary of state.

—and therefore the North and the South were equally represented in the Senate. This equilibrium had been maintained for many years, and it was argued that no other free state should be admitted until there was a chance to admit a slave state also.

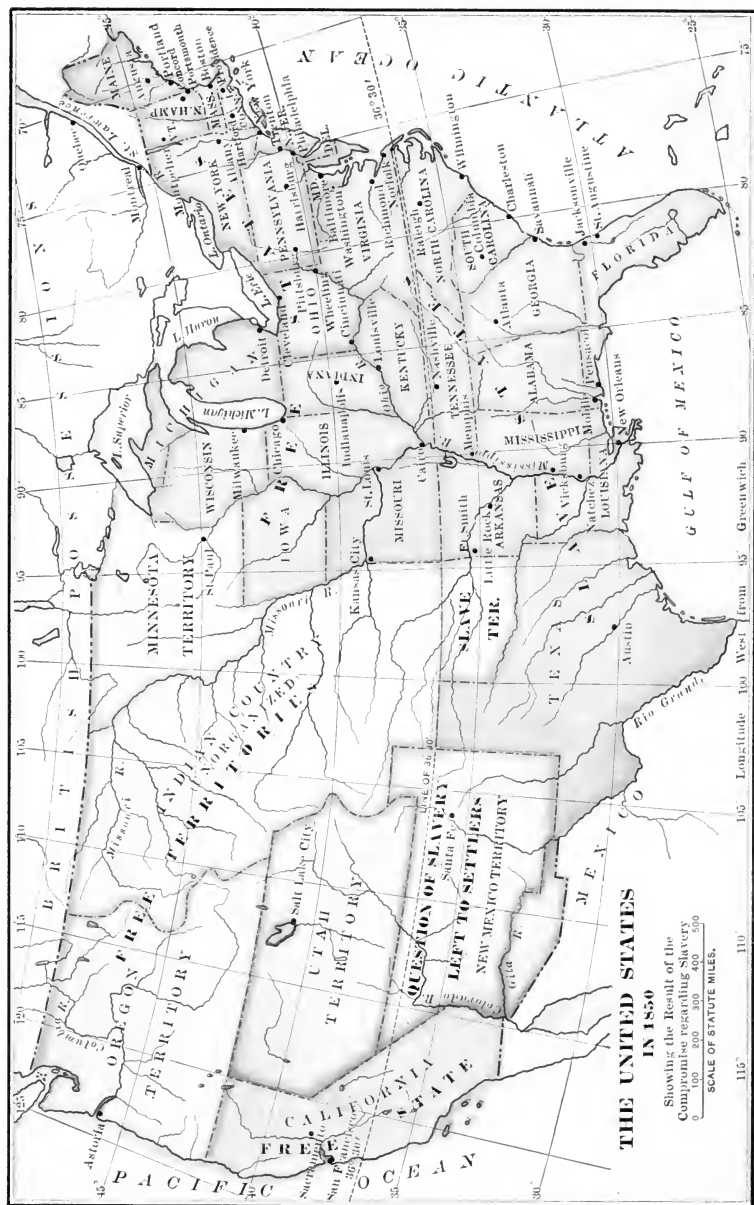
Another matter which was discussed in a passionate manner was a demand from the North that slavery should be abolished in the District of Columbia, the seat of the national government. It was argued that, although the Congress might not have the constitutional right to interfere with slavery in a state, it certainly had the right to abolish it in the district over which it had sole control. The abolitionists were constantly gaining in power. They wanted slavery prohibited in all territories and in the states as well, if that were possible. They were trying to create sentiment against slavery throughout the country and sent their pamphlets broadcast over both South and North.

Still another matter of controversy was the proposal to enact a more stringent fugitive-slave law. The slaveholders had found that the law of 1793¹ gave them very little protection, and they were demanding a new law. Many slaves escaped from the South to the free states, and it was hard to get them back again.

The Omnibus Bill. 1850. — In the congressional debates upon the questions touching slavery there was much angry feeling, and threats of secession from the Union were frequently made by the Southern congressmen. To aid in quieting the threatening storm, Henry Clay, who had retired from public life, returned to the Senate and devoted himself to the restoration of harmony. He advocated concessions and patience, and finally introduced a measure which he believed would harmonize the serious differences between the two sections.

The Clay compromise consisted of a series of bills for various things, which were jointly known as the Omnibus Bill. The compromise was strongly opposed at first, and it took many weeks of debate and skillful management before an agreement was reached. Finally it was found neces-

¹ See page 198.





sary to act upon each of the bills separately ; but by the last of September, 1850, the whole measure was passed by the Congress. It has been called the Clay Compromise of 1850. It was acceptable to a large majority of the people, who believed that it would prevent disunion. The measure provided —

The admission of California to the Union as a free state.

The organization of the remainder of the Mexican cession into the territories of Utah and New Mexico, without restriction as to slavery.

The abolition of trade in slaves, but not of slavery, in the District of Columbia.

The payment of \$10,000,000 to Texas for territory ceded to the Federal government.¹

A more stringent fugitive-slave law.

The Fugitive-Slave Law. 1850. — The Fugitive-Slave Law (1850) gave to slaveholders the right to pursue fugitive slaves into the free states, just as the law of 1793 had done; but in addition it imposed a fine upon a marshal or other officer who refused to comply with the law, and also made him liable for the value of the slaves escaping from his custody. To obstruct the arrest of a slave or to attempt to rescue him from an officer was punishable by fine and imprisonment. These and other stringent provisions of the law made it very obnoxious to the Northern people. They fiercely denounced it, and did all they could to evade it. In some states laws called personal liberty bills were passed in order to give freedom to fugitive slaves.²

The Lopez Expedition. 1849-1851. — In 1851 General Lopez, a Cuban, organized in the United States an expedition to aid the Cubans in a revolt against Spain. A few days after landing in Cuba the four hundred and fifty members of the expedition, who were mostly Americans, were attacked by a body of Spanish troops, and a bloody and disastrous conflict ensued. Lopez and about fifty of his followers succeeded in escaping to the coast,

¹ Texas had claimed as her own territory all that part of New Mexico lying east of the Rio Grande.

² These personal liberty bills were regarded by the South as a violation of the Constitution, Article IV, Section 2.

where they obtained boats and escaped to sea. They were intercepted, however, by a Spanish warship, taken to Havana, tried by a military court, and speedily executed.

There was a feeling in Europe that the United States had meditated the annexation of Cuba at an early day. This feeling was undoubtedly caused by the Lopez expedition, which had been aided by Southern political leaders, and by the apparent desire in the Southern states for the possession of Cuba. England and France therefore proposed a "Tripartite treaty" with the United States, in which the three contracting parties should pledge themselves by the treaty to make no attempt to acquire Cuba. President Fillmore declined to join with England and France in any such treaty, but assured those powers that the American government "entertained no designs against Cuba, but, on the contrary, should regard its incorporation into the Union as fraught with peril."

Pierce elected President. 1852. — In the campaign preceding the election of 1852, both the Whigs and the Democrats tried to ignore the slavery question in the interests of peace. The question could not be dropped, however, and many voters united with the Free Soil party, whose candidate was John P. Hale of New Hampshire. The Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott. The Free Soil party drew so many votes from the Whigs that Franklin Pierce,¹ the Democratic



THE AUTOGRAPH OF PIERCE.

candidate, was elected. He carried every state except Kentucky, Tennessee, Massachusetts, and Vermont.

The Know Nothings. 1852. — A secret political party, named the Native American party, but commonly called the Know Nothings, came into being in 1852. The purpose of the new party

¹ FRANKLIN PIERCE (1804-1869) was born at Hillsborough, New Hampshire. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College. He studied at the law school in Northampton, Massachusetts, and in 1827 was admitted to the bar. His political instincts soon declared themselves; he was first elected member of the Congress from New Hampshire and then United States senator. Later he played a conspicuous part as a general in the Mexican War. In 1853 he became the fourteenth President.

was to exclude foreign-born persons and Roman Catholics from the city, state, and national offices, to keep the Bible in public schools, and to prevent foreigners who had not resided long enough in the United States from becoming citizens.¹ For a year the party had a considerable following, but it very soon fell into disrepute.

The Gadsden Purchase. 1853. — In the first year of President Pierce's administration, there was trouble with Mexico in reference to the Mesilla Valley, south of the Gila River, which the United States had claimed as a part of country purchased in 1848. Mexico had resisted the claim, and sent troops to occupy the valley. After lengthy negotiations, General James Gadsden, the American minister to Mexico, succeeded in purchasing the disputed region for \$10,000,000. This region comprises the southern parts of Arizona and New Mexico.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. 1854. — In 1854 a bill was offered in the Senate by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, a conservative Democrat, for the organization of two territories from the area now included in Kansas and Nebraska. No one objected to the organization of the territories; but excitement was caused by a clause in the bill which practically repealed the Missouri Compromise, by submitting the question of slavery to the people of those territories which were north of the compromise line.²

The intent of the bill, it was claimed, was not to establish slavery by law in any territory, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people free to regulate their affairs in their own way. This was in accord with the idea of popular sovereignty.

The bill was debated for several months, with a great deal of earnestness. There was bitter feeling among the antislavery element of the North, and Douglas was severely criticised for advocating a measure which meant the repeal of the compromise line. Many of the Northern Democrats and Whigs who had never expressed antislavery opinions were also opposed to the

¹ All members of the party took an oath to vote for no candidate for office who was not a native American and a Protestant. The name "Know Nothing" had been given to it because its members usually said, when asked about the organization, "I know nothing."

² See page 251.

measure. But despite all opposition, the bill passed both houses of the Congress by large majorities, and was signed by President Pierce (May 30, 1854). The passage of the bill and the annulment of the Missouri Compromise caused great rejoicing among the people of the Southern states; for in the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska they saw the opportunity for the growth of the slave power.

The Struggle in Kansas. 1854-1861.—The attempt to carry slavery into Kansas was the beginning of a fierce and bloody struggle. Emigrants from Missouri poured into Kansas, and staked out land claims. At the same time an emigrant aid society, formed in the North, also sent thither many men. Few of either party, however, were genuine settlers. Both sides made pretense to keep within the law, but neither party hesitated to use violence, whether lawful or not. For the five years preceding 1859, this sort of work went on; and such wretched work was done there that the territory received the name of Bleeding Kansas. The proslavery men were in possession of that part of the territory along the Missouri River; the Free Soilers were in the valley of the Kaw, or Kansas River.

When the election for a legislature was held (1855), a small army of men crossed from Missouri, voted, and returned home; as a result, nearly every member of the legislature was a proslavery man. The legislature met and adopted slave laws. The Free Soilers, however, repudiated these proceedings, called a meeting at Topeka, and adopted a free-soil constitution. This was submitted to a popular vote and was adopted. The proslavery party considered the second election illegal and refused to vote. Thus there were two rival governments, and a reign of bloodshed continued until the beginning of the Civil War. Which of the two was the lawful election was a question that was not decided.¹

The Republican Party.—After the election of 1852 the Whig party had dissolved, and a new political organization

¹ It was during this period that John Brown came first into notice. During the struggle, Brown and his men were responsible for not a little bloodshed. Their motive was an intense hatred of slavery. See page 291.

grew out of the public feeling caused by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It was named the Republican party, and included those members of the other parties who were antislavery in sentiment. Many Whigs united themselves with the Republicans; the Free Soil party was dissolved, and most of its members became a part of the new organization; and the abolitionists contributed a small but vigorous element to the new party. The Republicans opposed the extension of slavery; they favored a protective tariff and a loose construction of the Constitution.

Buchanan elected President. 1856. — The new Republican party held its first national convention at Philadelphia in June, 1856, and nominated John C. Frémont of California for President. The platform denied that the Congress had authority to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States. The Democratic candidates in the presidential election of 1856 were James Buchanan of Pennsylvania for President, and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for Vice-President. The election was earnestly contested, and aroused great popular enthusiasm. Buchanan¹ and Breckinridge were elected.



THE AUTOGRAPH OF BUCHANAN.

The Dred Scott Decision. 1857. — A decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, on March 6, 1857, in reference to the case of Dred Scott, a negro slave of Missouri, added to the sectional bitterness then prevailing.

Scott had been taken by his master to Illinois, and later to the Northwest. Upon his return to Missouri, he began suit in a state court for his freedom, claiming that his temporary residence on free soil had made him a free man. The case finally reached the Supreme Court of the United States. The decision of this court, as declared by Chief Justice Taney, was that Scott,

¹ JAMES BUCHANAN (1791-1868) was born at Stony Batter, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. He served as member of the Congress, minister to Russia and to England, United States senator, and secretary of state. In 1857 he was elected the fifteenth President. His administration, falling as it did on the eve of the Civil War and vacillating in its dealings with the seceders, was severely criticised. He published a defense of his administration.

being a negro, was not a citizen of the United States, and therefore could not bring suit for any purpose in a Federal court. It was declared that—

Negroes, whether free or slaves, could not become citizens of the United States.

The Missouri Compromise and all other acts passed by the Congress prohibiting slavery in any of the territory of the United States were unconstitutional, and therefore null and void.

The question of Scott's freedom was a matter for the Missouri courts to decide.

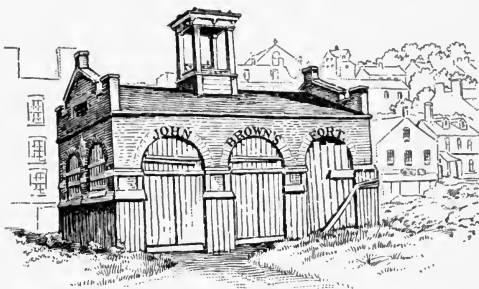
The Dred Scott decision was very gratifying to the Southerners, who regarded it as settling the contention about slavery in the territories. It greatly incensed the antislavery people of the North, who believed that the decision was unjust and were unwilling to abide by it.

The Lincoln and Douglas Debates. 1858.—The questions connected with the slavery issues were discussed in seven joint debates between the two candidates for the senatorship in Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. Douglas defended popular sovereignty, asserting that the settlers in a territory had the right to allow or prohibit slavery in that territory. Lincoln argued that, regardless of the Dred Scott decision, the Congress had the right to legislate concerning slavery in a territory, although it could not interfere with slavery in a state. Douglas was elected senator, but Lincoln won the prominence that made him the leader of the Republican party.

The Bitterness of Slavery Agitation.—Throughout the administration of President Buchanan the slavery question kept the country continually in a state of turmoil. There were many passionate controversies in the Congress and in the state conventions. The abolitionists strenuously urged that slavery be abolished. Between the North and the South there had developed a sectional bitterness which plainly indicated the probability of disunion. The Southern people discussed secession openly and in strong language. They claimed that any state had the right to withdraw from the Union whenever it pleased. Unless the North should cease to interfere with slavery, it was

declared that the South would secede and set up an independent government.

John Brown's Raid. 1859. — The political excitement was immensely increased by a raid made into Virginia by John Brown, an abolitionist. Brown was a resident of New York, who had been for some time in Kansas aiding the free-soil people in their efforts to make an antislavery state. In the fall of 1859, with a force of only twenty-two men, he entered the village of Harpers Ferry (West Virginia), seized the United States Arsenal, and endeavored to incite the slaves in that region to take arms and begin an insurrection.



THE ARSENAL AT HARPERS FERRY.

The slaves would not join Brown's party, and the audacious affair ended in the capture of the raiders. Brown was tried, convicted, and hanged for treason by the Virginia authorities. Brown's raid set the whole country aflame with discord. It led the South to believe that in the North there had been a general plan to create a slave insurrection, and that the only safety was in secession and independence.

Lincoln elected President. 1860. — For the presidential election of 1860, the Republican party nominated Abraham Lincoln¹ of

¹ ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809-1865) was a native of Hardin County, Kentucky. His parents were plain, unlearned, hardworking people, and his early home was a log cabin. He received only one year's regular schooling. Beyond this, his teachers were the Bible, Æsop's Fables, "Pilgrim's Progress," and whatever other books he could obtain. He early left his father's home, and found employment as farm laborer, salesman, merchant, and surveyor. In 1837 he began the practice of law at Springfield, Illinois. He was elected from Illinois as a representative to the Congress. Later, as candidate for United States senator, he attracted the attention of the country by his vigorous stand against the institution of slavery; and in 1860 he was elected the sixteenth President. Thenceforth the history of his life is one with that of the Civil War. He had entered upon

Illinois. The Democrats had two presidential tickets as the result of a disagreement in the nominating convention. The delegates from the North, believing in popular sovereignty, nominated Stephen A. Douglas, while the Southern Democrats chose John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky to champion their views on the slavery question.¹ The Constitutional Union party (before known as the National American party) nominated John Bell of Tennessee. After an exciting campaign the election resulted in a victory for the Republicans. They carried every Northern state except New Jersey. President Lincoln and Vice-President Hamlin were sworn into office, and the Republican party entered into control of the national government, which it retained for twenty-four years.

The platform of the Republican party held that —

The decision of the Supreme Court concerning the Dred Scott case should be repudiated.

Kansas should enter the Union as a free state, and that slavery should be excluded from all the territories.

It was not the intention of the Republican party to interfere with slavery in the slave states.

The platform of the Southern faction of the Democratic party was equally radical. It held that —

Neither the Congress nor the legislature of a territory had the power to abolish slavery in any territory.

The government was bound to protect slavery wherever its authority extended.

Cuba should be acquired by the United States.

Both platforms called for a railway to the Pacific coast of the United States.

his second term as President, and the war was almost at an end, when, in Ford's Theater, Washington, he was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth. He is universally honored as one of the foremost American leaders.

¹ These views had been presented in the Senate by Jefferson Davis of Mississippi in February, 1860. His resolutions declared that each state in the Federal Union had the full right to manage its own home affairs, that slavery was recognized and protected by the Federal Constitution, and that the Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in the territories. The resolutions were adopted (May 25, 1860).

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Conditions of Living in 1840. — Before the year 1840 there were very few miles of steam railway in the United States; neither was there a telegraph, a sewing machine, a reaper, a rubber shoe, a good friction match, a postage stamp, a street car, a sleeping coach, nor a coal-oil lamp. For illuminating purposes gas was used in New York and several of the larger cities; people living in the larger towns lighted their houses with whale oil or with “camphene” — a mixture of alcohol and turpentine; in the country tallow “dips” were generally employed, inasmuch as a good candle was unknown. There were crude stoves for burning coal, but most people burned wood in box stoves or in fireplaces. In 1840 Burke and Adams opened an express service between New York and Boston by way of Springfield, Massachusetts; at first two “carpet bags” were sufficient for the business. In the cities there were a few paved streets and sidewalks, but there were scarcely a dozen miles of well-paved country road in the whole United States.

Labor. — The day laborer, who may now live almost as comfortably as did a king two hundred years ago, had a rather hard time before 1850. A day’s work was from “sun to sun”; that is, from sunrise to sunset. A dollar a day was considered very fair wages for skilled labor; ten dollars a month with board and lodging was a very common price for farm labor. It was not until 1830 that a ten-hour working day was adopted. It was adopted first in Baltimore; afterward ten hours was ordered by President Van Buren (1840) to be a day’s work in the various government establishments. The introduction of machinery in the various fields of labor tended at first to throw workmen out of employment; this, however, was followed by a readjustment that not only enormously increased old fields of labor, but created new ones.

The Electric Telegraph. — In 1836 Samuel F. B. Morse constructed a working model of a magneto-electric telegraph machine. During the following ten years, he and his associate, Alfred Vail, improved the instrument, finally producing an instrument that is substantially the same in principle as that used to-day. The first

operator was William^{*}B. Lascell. The first working line was opened between Baltimore and Washington in 1844; in the following year a line was opened between Jersey City and Philadelphia, the messages being carried across the river to New York. The Western Union Telegraph Company was organized in 1856.

In 1854 Cyrus W. Field of New York City began to direct the work of laying a telegraph cable under the Atlantic Ocean from

The ocean
cables

Newfoundland to Ireland. The cable was laid in 1857; one or two messages were sent, and then the line ceased to work.

Another cable was laid in the following year, but it failed to transmit messages after about a month of use. In 1866 cable laying was made successful, and at the close of the century two companies were operating about twenty cable wires between the United States and Europe.

Ocean Steamship Navigation.—

We have seen that the first steamship to cross the ocean, the *Savannah* in 1819, did not prove a successful undertaking. Eighteen years afterward (1837) the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, English steamships using coal for fuel, made successful trips between

Liverpool and New York. The Cunard Line was put into operation in 1839. At first it was assisted by money from the English



Sam. F. B. Morse.



Cyrus W. Field.

government in order to meet the increased expense of operating its vessels by steam. The Collins Line, the first successful American enterprise, was founded in 1850, and between these two lines the rivalry became so strong that great improvements in steamship building resulted. The time between New York and Liverpool was reduced from three weeks to less than two. The substitution of the propeller for the paddle wheel was a great improvement; the use of steel instead of iron in the boilers was a still greater improvement. As a result of the many changes in steamship construction, the Atlantic Ocean, which a century ago was six weeks wide, is now less than six days wide.

Food Production and its Readjustments. — At the beginning of the nineteenth century most of the food-stuffs used in the region east of the Appalachian Mountains were grown in that region and such was the condition of affairs until about 1840. Even in the gravelly uplands of the New England plateau not a little wheat was grown on the small farms. The wheat was cut usually by a "cradle," bound by hand, and threshed out by means of a flail. Except in Pennsylvania and some of the Appalachian valleys, the crop was light, rarely exceeding twenty bushels per acre. Much of the flour was then made at Wilmington, Delaware, and Baltimore, and the price per barrel varied from \$10 to \$12.

Wheat
growing in
the East



THE OLD WAY OF CRADLING WHEAT.

The completion of the Erie Canal¹ opened the Eastern markets to the prairies of the Mississippi Valley. It was immediately apparent that wheat could be grown far more

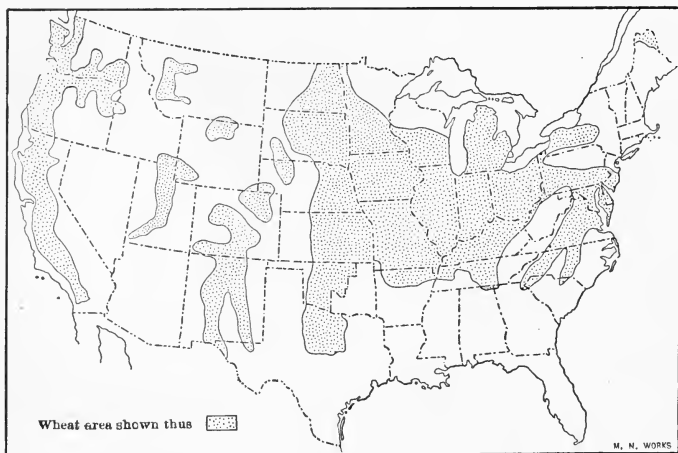
¹ See page 241.

successfully in the prairie lands than on the small farms of the East. On the prairie farms, however, harvesting the large crops with the "cradle" was out of the question. It was not until 1841 that McCormick was able to persuade a Cincinnati firm to make the reaper that he had invented some years before. Once in use, however, the reaper quickly demonstrated its value, and to-day nearly a quarter of a million harvesting machines are sold yearly.

The McCormick reaper

One result of the invention of the reaper was to increase notably the emigration to the wheat-growing regions of the West. Another result was the transfer of the flour-making industry, first to Rochester, New York, and then to cities farther west. A still more important matter was the building of many thousand miles of railway within the region of possible wheat growth. The most notable result of all, however, was

The Western wheat industry



WHERE WHEAT IS GROWN IN THE UNITED STATES.

the change that came in the methods of planting and harvesting the grain crops.

The low price at which the farmer could purchase land encouraged the idea of large instead of small farms; moreover, the rich

soil yielded crops far greater than had been produced in the East. These geographic conditions compelled the farmer to employ more speedy means of planting and harvesting, and so the combination reaper, binder, and threshing machine came into use. In time,



A MODERN MACHINE IN THE WHEAT FIELD.

This single machine cuts, threshes, winnows, and sacks wheat while in motion.

these improved methods of growing grain compelled speedier methods of handling the grain between the farmer and the mills, and so the grain elevator resulted. The modern elevator, its belt armed with scoops revolved on a swinging leg, handles a carload of grain in a few minutes.

SUMMARY

Texas seceded from Mexico, and for about nine years was an independent republic. In 1845 it was annexed by the United States.

The Republic of Mexico declared war against the United States because of the annexation of Texas.

An attempt of the Mexican army to invade Texas failed. General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande, and at Buena Vista defeated the Mexicans.

General Kearney invaded and occupied New Mexico. American settlers in California declared that country an independent republic.

General Scott marched from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico and captured it.

A treaty of peace was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.

The agitation of popular sovereignty brought about the passage of Clay's Omnibus Bill of 1850 and a more stringent fugitive-slave law.

The Free Soil party was organized to prevent the extension of slavery. The dissolution of the Whig and Free Soil parties was followed by the organization of the Republican party.

The provision for organizing Kansas and Nebraska as territories, permitting the slavery question to be decided by the people themselves, led to a bloody struggle.

The Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declared that a negro had none of the legal rights of citizenship, and that the Missouri Compromise act was null and void.

Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, was elected President in 1860. He declared that it was not his intention to interfere with slavery where it legally existed.

Important events were: in Polk's administration—Frémont's exploration of the West; in Taylor's and Fillmore's administrations—the Nicaragua Canal treaty, the discovery of gold in California, and the Lopez expedition against Cuba; in Pierce's administration—the Gadsden purchase; in Buchanan's administration—the John Brown raid and the beginning of secession.

COLLATERAL READING

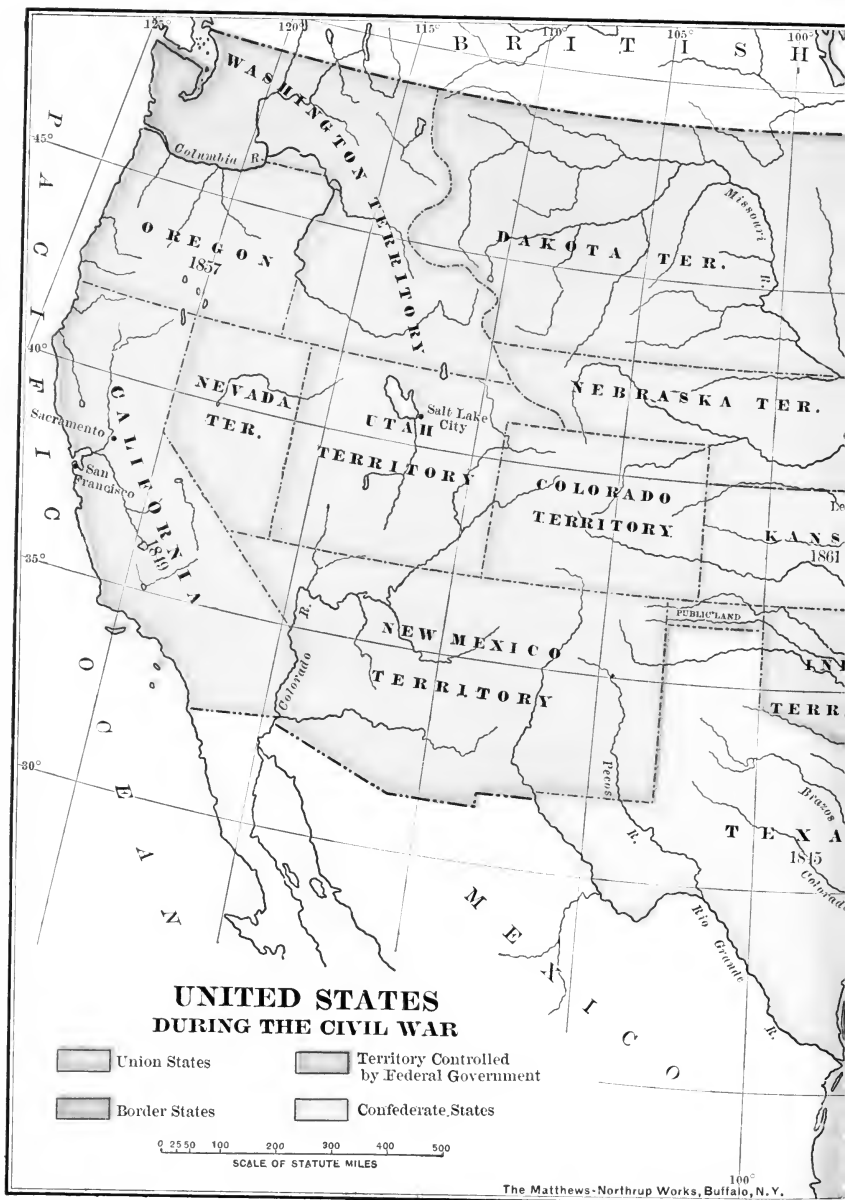
Popular History of the United States—Scribner's. Vol. IV.

The United States—Andrews. Vol. II.

Advanced Civics—Forman. Chapter IX.

Building the Nation—Coffin. (For popular reading.)

Uncle Tom's Cabin—Stowe. (For popular reading.)







CHAPTER XVIII

THE CIVIL WAR

OPENING EVENTS

The Causes of Sectional Feeling. — Sometimes one hears an expression of surprise that the people of the two great sections into which the United States had separated should have reached a crisis that could be settled only by a civil war. That such a condition of affairs ought never to have existed, most people will readily admit; that it did come about, and that the struggle cost nearly a million of lives, are sorrowful facts.

That much of the bitter feeling between the two sections grew out of the question of slavery cannot be denied. Unfortunately, neither side could look at the situation through the eyes of the other. In the South, slavery had been a recognized institution for four generations; moreover, it was a recognized institution in other parts of the world, and the slaveholder could see nothing wrong about it. The slaves were well cared for, and rarely was one ill-treated; their masters were generally humane and, moreover, the slave represented too much value to be abused. The negro was far better off as a slave in the South than ever he had been in Africa.

The Southern cotton planter therefore could not understand at all why there should be any objection to slave labor, or why there should be any greater objection to carrying a slave into Massachusetts than to taking a span of horses there. Neither could he understand why it was more objectionable to recover a runaway slave from New York, than to get a stray cow under similar circumstances. Unfortunately, the cotton planter was shut off from the great lines of traffic through which the world exchanges

its knowledge, and he did not perceive that all over the world there was growing a hatred of human slavery.

There was also a business side to the matter. Cotton growing was the great industry of the South, and cotton could not be grown without negro labor. Furthermore, the cotton planter firmly believed that the staple could not be successfully grown without slave labor, and to interfere with the latter was to cripple, or perhaps to destroy, the greatest industry in the world at that time. Climate and topography had made the South the world's area of cotton supply. The planter was naturally indignant that any one should attempt to interfere with an institution which the laws of the land had sanctioned for more than a century.

The question of state rights also figured largely in the discussions at this period. In the South it was generally held that a state had supreme rights—that is, a state might do anything which the Constitution of the United States did not forbid. The latter did not forbid a state to withdraw from the Union, the Southern leaders held, therefore a state had a right to take such a step.

Behind the question of slavery there was also the matter of the tariff. The manufacture of cotton textiles was carried on almost entirely in the North. The tariff, therefore, did not benefit the Southern people; it compelled them to pay higher prices for everything they purchased, while they enjoyed none of the benefits resulting from the consequent increase of manufactures in the United States. This was an additional source of aggravation.

In the North, on the other hand, at least two generations were living who knew nothing about slavery except what they read in emotional fiction and in the newspapers that were opposed to such an institution. The town meeting of New England had had the effect of instilling a knowledge of the rights of the individual, and the right of personal liberty had always been emphasized. Never having owned slaves, the generation then living could not understand why one person should be the property of another. Looked at in

State rights

**The tariff
question**

**Northern
sentiment
toward
slavery**

any possible light, the idea of slavery was to them atrocious; therefore many Northern people regarded it as an imperative duty to aid runaway slaves, and to do everything within their power to put an end to the institution of slavery. For more than a score of years prior to 1860, societies for the abolition of slavery had been established in various parts of the North, and "underground railways"¹ had helped to land runaway slaves in Canada. Moreover, Northern people believed that a tariff for the protection of their manufactures was just as essential to their prosperity as was slave labor to the cotton planters.

Another cause that contributed to the sectional feeling was the absence of communication between the two sections. There were not many trunk lines of railway in the United States at that time, and most of these were in the North. **Lack of intercourse** With practically the single exception of the Illinois Central Railroad, these lines extended east and west, because the great markets of commerce were either east or west of the Atlantic seaboard. There was not much intercourse, either social or commercial, between the North and the South. Each section knew only the unpleasant characteristics of the other.

The Beginning of Secession. 1860. — During the presidential campaign of 1860 there was a growing inclination on the part of the Southern people to leave the Union should the Republican party be successful in the national election. After the election of Lincoln, the first step in this direction was taken by South Carolina. **South Carolina secedes** A convention at Charleston repealed the act by which the state had adopted the Constitution of the United States and announced that the union between South Carolina and the United States was dissolved. On December 24 Governor Pickens issued a proclamation announcing South Carolina to be a separate and independent state.

¹ An "underground railway" consisted of a chain of men living at distances of ten or fifteen miles apart, extending from a slave state to Canada. A runaway slave was piloted by one member to the next, and so on, until he reached a place of safety. There were many of these "railways" in operation. They were in violation of the law, but public opinion in the North favored them.

CHARLESTON MERCURY EXTRA:

*Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December
20th, 1860.*

AN ORDINANCE

*To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and
other States united with her under the compact entitled "The
Constitution of the United States of America."*

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and
it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the
year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the
United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General
Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed;
and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of
"The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE
UNION
IS
DISSOLVED!

A NEWSPAPER ANNOUNCEMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA'S SECESSION.

The Confederate States.—The withdrawal of South Carolina from the Union was speedily followed by the secession of six other Southern states. During January, 1861, secession ordinances were passed by the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana, and on February 1, by Texas. Delegates from the seven seceding states assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4, and organized a provisional congress.

The seceding states

This assembly, in turn, adopted a provisional constitution modeled after the Constitution of the United States with some important changes, such as the recognition of slavery and the prohibition of protective tariffs. The provisional government was styled the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was unanimously elected president, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia vice-president.

The states of Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee subsequently joined the Confederacy. In

March, 1861, the eleven states, which had declared themselves free and independent of the Federal government, adopted a permanent constitution and made the provisional government permanent. Davis and Stephens were again elected as president and vice-president. The headquarters of the government were established at Richmond.



Jefferson Davis

Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, the "border states," did not leave the Union, although each had a considerable population in favor of secession.

In the mountainous parts of the South the sentiment against secession was strong. In these regions but little cotton was grown, and there were no vast plantations requiring a large force of slaves. So far as business was concerned, the people could see no advantage, but many disadvantages, in secession. For this reason the people in the western part of Virginia were strongly opposed to leaving the Union, and this part of Virginia was recognized by the Federal Congress as the state of Virginia (1862).

No Coercion.—No interference with the Confederates was offered by President Buchanan. In a message to the Congress (1860) he declared that the Southern states had no right to secede, but he could not find in the Constitution any power by which a state could be coerced into submission to the Federal government. He argued that the President could use force only to protect the public property and to defend the government from assault.

Propositions for a Compromise.—During the winter of 1860–1861, the Congress discussed several propositions for a compromise of the national trouble. John J. Crittenden of Kentucky offered an amendment to the Constitution, providing that slavery should be forever prohibited in all the country north of the parallel of 36° 30', and permitted in all the country south of it, to the west of Missouri. The Crittenden Compromise, as it was termed, was considerably discussed, but was finally rejected in both houses of the Congress.

An amendment to the Constitution was proposed by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, which, after a great deal of debate, was agreed to. It provided that the Congress should have no power to abolish or to interfere with the domestic institutions of a state, including that of slavery. The Douglas amendment was presented to the legislatures of the states for ratification, but was ratified by the legislatures of Maryland and Ohio only; consequently it came to nothing.

Early in January, 1861, the Virginia legislature invited all the

states to send delegates to a conference to be held in Washington (February 4) for the purpose of arranging a peaceable settlement of the national controversy. Fourteen free states and seven slave states were represented in the conference. But the conference did not approve the proposed amendments, and therefore it was of no avail.

The peace
conference

Preparations for Conflict. — The seceded states then began to seize the forts, arsenals, navy yards, custom houses, and other Federal property within their borders. Nevertheless, no resistance to these seizures was made by President Buchanan. More than two thousand guns had been transferred from the Northern arsenals to those in the Southern states a few months before the Confederate government



A. Lincoln

was formed, and thus the North was partly disarmed.

The regular troops of the United States, numbering about eighteen thousand men, were stationed mainly at far Western and Southern posts, and the ships of the small navy were nearly all in foreign seas. Many of the army and navy officers, who were born in the South, resigned and joined the forces of the

Confederate States. In the South there was an immediate preparation for war; in the North also it was recognized that a grave crisis was at hand. Such was the condition of affairs when the Republicans entered into power.

The Inauguration of Lincoln. 1861. — A great multitude representing many states saw President Lincoln take the oath of office at Washington on March 4, 1861, and assume the control of the government. In his inaugural address the President declared his intention to enforce the law and to do all he could to preserve the Union. He said that the people of the Southern states seemed to fear that under a Republican administration their peace and property were endangered. He declared that he had no intention of interfering with slavery in the states where it existed, and he believed that he had no lawful right to do so. He held, however, that the Union was perpetual, and therefore that no state could lawfully withdraw from it.¹

The Confederate Commissioners. 1861. — In March, two Confederate commissioners sent a communication to the secretary of state, informing him that they desired to enter into negotiations with the Federal government "for the adjustment of all questions growing out of this separation." Secretary Seward felt that he could not recognize them as diplomatic agents or hold communication with them, and so the commissioners returned. This act closed the possibility of further negotiations looking for peace.

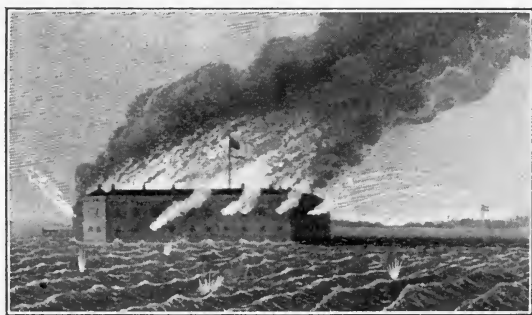
THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR

Fort Sumter Bombarded. April 12, 1861. — At the time when Lincoln became President, all the forts in Charleston Harbor,

¹ "In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen," he said, "and not in mine, are the momentous issues of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it. . . . We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our natures."

except Fort Sumter, were occupied by the Confederates. Fort Sumter was held by Major Robert Anderson and seventy artillerymen of the United States army. Supplies had been sent to Fort Sumter on the *Star of the West*, but the vessel had been fired upon by the Confederates and driven away.

The Confederates demanded the surrender of the fort, and when that was refused, declared that the sending of supplies would be considered as a declaration of war. President Lincoln announced his intention of supplying the fort "at all hazards," and dispatched vessels from the Brooklyn navy yard to reinforce and provision the beleaguered stronghold.



FORT SUMTER, APRIL 12, 1861.

About seven hundred Confederates, in command of General Beauregard, a distinguished soldier of the Mexican War, had assembled at Charleston and erected batteries on the shore. When the Confederate authorities learned that Fort Sumter was to be relieved, General Beauregard was ordered to bombard it and force its capitulation. He summoned Major Anderson to surrender, and when the latter refused (April 12, 1861), all the Confederate batteries and forts opened fire on Fort Sumter. For thirty-four hours there was a terrific bombardment. On the afternoon of April 13th, the fort, which had been nearly consumed by fire, was compelled to surrender for want of ammunition. No lives were lost on either side.

The Country Aroused.—The bombardment of Fort Sumter

aroused both the North and the South. A remarkable military spirit was displayed. The North sprang to arms without distinction of party to defend the Federal Union; the South enthusiastically rallied to the support of the Confederacy. President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteer troops to serve for three months, and called the Congress in special session.

In response to the President's call, thousands of men came forward to enroll. These were enlisted as rapidly as possible and hurried to the front. About forty thousand were ordered to the vicinity of Washington. While passing through Baltimore, the Sixth Massachusetts regiment was assailed by a street mob and several soldiers were killed. This was the first bloodshed of the war.¹

Military Organization. — In May President Lincoln called for forty thousand more volunteers to serve for three years; he also increased the regular army to forty thousand, and strengthened the navy by eighteen thousand additional men. By the end of June the enlistments had reached a total of more than one hundred and eighty thousand men. The Confederate States also had raised and equipped a large army.²

Practically none of the rank and file of the troops on either side had seen active military service, nor had the officers, with exception of the few veterans of the Mexican War. The number of officers, therefore, who were competent to create the required military organization, was very small. Both armies were without experience. General Winfield Scott, a veteran of two wars, was in nominal command of the Federal forces. Scott was very old, however, and the active command was held by General Irwin McDowell. General P. G. T. Beauregard was in command of the Confederate forces in the East.

¹ As a strange coincidence, it occurred on the anniversary of the skirmish at Lexington (April 19) under circumstances that were somewhat similar.

² At the time of the Civil War both armies had the following organization: Ten companies, each nominally containing one hundred men, formed a regiment; three regiments formed a brigade; three or more brigades made a division; three or more divisions made an army corps, and several army corps constituted an army. Any large body of troops operating as a unit was styled an army. Thus, there was the Army of the Potomac, the Army of Tennessee, etc.

The Scene of Operations. — The line of military operations extended from Norfolk, on the Atlantic seaboard, nearly to the western boundary of Texas. In the East it lay along the Potomac and across Virginia; the middle part extended through Kentucky; in the West it stretched across the state of Missouri. The Confederate armies had the advantage of position, for they were fighting on their own ground.

Operations in West Virginia. — The first movement in the East was conducted by General George B. McClellan of the Federal army. By a series of clever maneuvers, McClellan drove Beauregard out of West Virginia. A Confederate force was sent into the valley of the Kanawha for the purpose of retaking it, but it was routed at Carnifex Ferry by General Rosecrans.

The Battle of Bull Run. — When Beauregard left West Virginia, he took a position at Manassas Junction, a station of the Southern Railroad near a small creek called Bull Run. It was an excellent position. At this point he was within easy reach of supplies; he could also make a rapid advance upon Washington, thirty miles away.

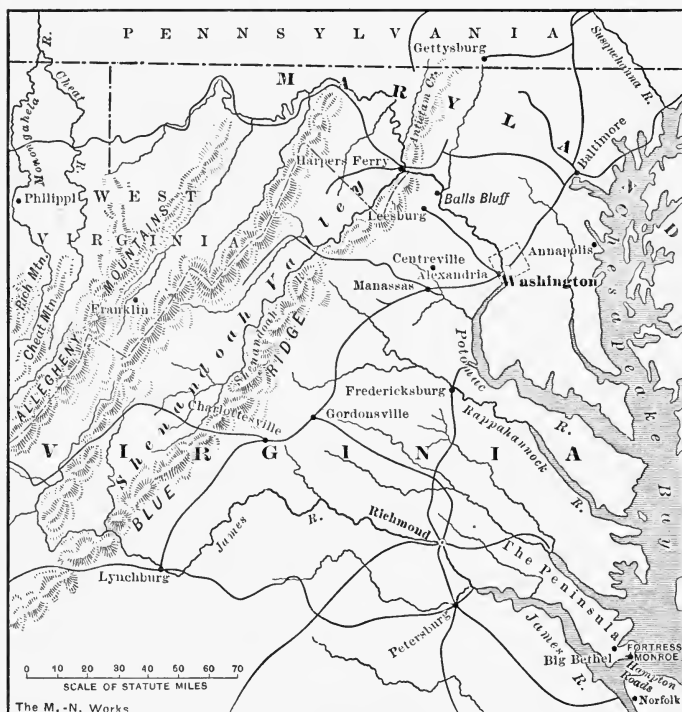


GENERAL MCCLELLAN.

In the meanwhile there grew a popular clamor demanding that an attack should be made on Richmond before the Confederate Congress assembled there. To this clamor General Scott unwisely yielded, and General McDowell started southward from Washington with thirty thousand troops. A few days later (July 21, 1861) he encountered General Beauregard with some twenty-nine thousand Confederate troops, and the battle was on. At first the Confederate forces were driven back, and victory seemed to fall to the Federal troops. The Confederate lines were more than once broken and again reformed.¹ At the critical moment, when

¹ The example of General Thomas J. Jackson caused General Bee, a Confederate officer, to exclaim to his command: "Look at Jackson standing there like a stone wall!" Thereafter Jackson was everywhere known as "Stonewall" Jackson.

the Confederate lines were wavering, General Johnston arrived with reënforcements from the Shenandoah Valley. The Federal troops were checked and then driven back. Their retreat became a panic, and they fled toward Washington in hopeless confusion.



SCENE OF OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA.

The Confederate troops did not follow them. About five thousand men were killed and wounded in this battle.

Making Preparation for War.—The battle of Bull Run convinced the Northern people that a conquest of the South was not an easy task. The Southern people, for their part, were not unduly elated, for their victory had been won at a heavy cost. It was apparent to the Federal authorities that a great deal of

energy must be given at once to the organization of the army. General Scott was retired at his own request and General McClellan was placed in command. The Congress voted \$500,000,000 and authorized the President to call for five hundred thousand men. During the rest of the summer but little was done in the East except to train the troops and make the army a good fighting machine.

The most notable affair of the summer was the defeat of a reconnoitering force of two thousand Federal troops who had crossed the Potomac at Balls Bluff (October 21, 1861).

The force was cut to pieces, losing half the men.¹ **Balls Bluff**

Operations in the Southwest. — Active operations had begun in the southwest as well as in Virginia. In Missouri General Nathaniel Lyon gained a victory over a Confederate force at Boonville (June, 1861), and the next month General Franz Sigel had an engagement with the Confederates at Carthage, but was compelled to fall back. A little later (August 10) Lyon and Sigel, with five thousand men, made an attack on twenty thousand of the enemy under Generals Price and McCullough, at Wilsons Creek, near Springfield. General Lyon was killed, and the Federal force was defeated. General Lyon, however, had thwarted the plans of those who were seeking to take Missouri out of the Union.

The military operations in Kentucky were of much the same character as those in Missouri, and were designed to prevent the state from seceding.

Operations against the Coast. — In August an expedition of naval and land forces, in command of Commodore Stringham and General Benjamin F. Butler, captured the forts at Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, after a bombardment of two days. Another combined expedition, commanded by Commodore Dupont and General Sherman, went to the coast of South Carolina and captured the forts at the entrance to Port Royal Sound. The Confederates then abandoned most of the defenses they had seized on the coast. Port Royal thereafter became the chief supply station in the South for the Federal authorities.

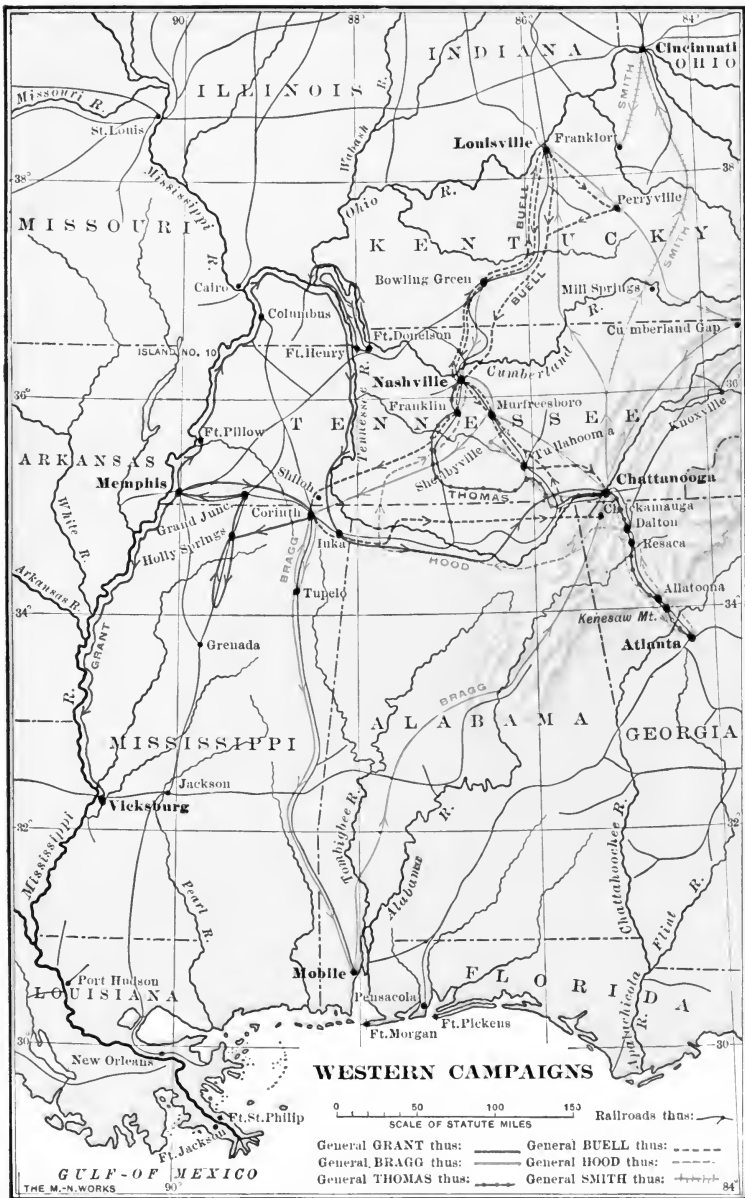
¹ Colonel Baker, United States Senator from Oregon, was among those killed at Balls Bluff.

The Trent Affair. — By the fall of 1861 England, France, Spain, and Portugal had recognized the Confederate States as having the same rights of war as the Federal government. In November, John M. Mason and John Slidell, Confederate commissioners to England and France, sailed from Havana, Cuba, for Europe on the British mail steamer *Trent*. The *Trent* was stopped on the high seas by the United States warship *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes, and Mason and Slidell were forcibly removed from the British vessel, taken to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor, and held as prisoners of war. The British government was indignant over the forcible search of a neutral British ship in neutral waters, and demanded that Mason and Slidell be given up, and that reparation for the act be made. Inasmuch as Captain Wilkes's action was an unfriendly act, President Lincoln ordered that the two envoys be surrendered without delay. A diplomatic apology for the occurrence was also made.¹

The Situation at the End of the First Year of the War. — At the close of the first year of the war the Confederate forces had possession of most of the forts and arsenals in the South. The Federal government had reënforced Fort Pickens, a very strong fortification on the Florida coast, and had not lost Fortress Monroe, which guarded the entrance to Hampton Roads and James River, Virginia. Port Royal and the earthworks at Hatteras Inlet had been gained, and most of the Southern ports had been blockaded in order to prevent them from receiving food supplies and from shipping their cotton. The states of Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky had been prevented from seceding.

Kansas admitted to the Union. 1861. — After the election of President Lincoln the struggle in Kansas became a matter of

¹ The United States had always denied the right of the search of neutral vessels during a time of war, but the British government had always insisted upon it. In 1812 the Americans had declared war against Great Britain almost expressly to maintain this freedom from forcible search and the right to sail the high seas unmolested. In view of all this President Lincoln decided that to uphold Captain Wilkes would be inconsistent. Moreover, by demanding the return of Mason and Slidell, Great Britain became committed to the American principle of freedom from search. Fortunately for the Americans it established a precedent, and therefore was a diplomatic victory.



minor importance and was almost forgotten for the time. In 1861 the people applied for admission, however, and Kansas was admitted as the thirty-fourth state. The Civil War being in progress, there were no congressmen from the seceded states to contend for slavery; Kansas therefore came in as a free state.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST

JANUARY, 1862, TO MAY, 1862

The Federal Plan of Campaign. 1862. — At the beginning of operations in 1862 the Federal army consisted of about five hundred thousand men; the Confederate forces numbered about three hundred and fifty thousand. The blockade of Southern ports, begun in 1861, had become fairly effective, and an attempt to run the blockade was pretty apt to result in the capture of the vessel. The operations of 1862 had three things in view: —

The strengthening of the blockade along the Southern coast.

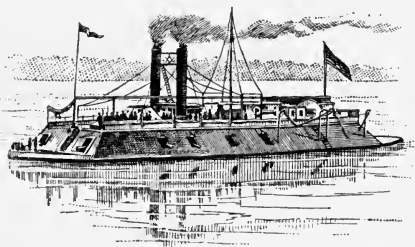
The capture of Richmond.

The opening of the Mississippi.

Of these, the last named was perhaps the most important. With the control of the Mississippi in the hands of the Federal forces, the Confederate territory would be cut in twain, and their food-stuffs and the supply of cotton with which the Confederates expected to raise money would be greatly diminished. In order to achieve this result, however, it was necessary to break or destroy the Confederate line that stretched east and west through Kentucky. Accordingly the first operations were directed against this line.

The Battle of Mill Springs; Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. — The first breach in the Confederate lines was made by General Thomas, who attacked the Confederates at Mill Springs, Kentucky (January 19, 1862), and defeated them. General Zollicoffer, the commander of the Confederate troops, was killed. The result of the battle was the capture of Cumberland Gap and thereby an open way into eastern Tennessee.

In the meantime, a flotilla of iron-clad river boats had been constructed at St. Louis by Captain Eads,¹ and these were placed under the command of Flag-officer Foote. With this flotilla, Foote made his way to Fort Henry, which guarded the lower part of the Tennessee River. The capture of the fort was quickly accomplished, but the Confederate troops escaped to Fort Donel-



AN IRON-CLAD RIVER BOAT.

son, which guarded the Cumberland River. General U. S. Grant² had already started with his command from Cairo, Illinois, to coöperate with Foote. He moved his troops toward Fort Donelson, and Foote also proceeded thither with his

flotilla. A fight of three days convinced General Buckner, the Confederate commander, that further resistance was hopeless.³ He surrendered (February 14), and fifteen thousand prisoners and a large quantity of arms and military stores were yielded to the Federal commander.

The capture of these forts was the chief step in breaking the Confederate power in the West. The Tennessee and Cum-

¹ These boats, about a dozen in number, were built in the incredibly short time of sixty-five days.

² ULYSSES S. GRANT (1822-1885) was a native of Clermont County, Ohio. He was a graduate of West Point. He fought in every battle of the Mexican War except Buena Vista, and was twice promoted for bravery and efficiency. He left the army to take up farming, and later, with his father, in Illinois, the leather business and saddlery. On the outbreak of the Civil War, he reëntered the army. In March, 1864, he was made commander of all the Union armies. By his swift and skillful action he conducted the war to a successful termination. Upon the death of Lincoln he was generally regarded as the foremost American, and in 1868 was elected the eighteenth President. He served two terms. The writing of his "Memoirs," just before his death, at a time of acute suffering, for the benefit of his wife, was a most heroic action. He was a generous conqueror, without pettiness, a man of action and of a high and modest nobility.

³ General Buckner asked General Grant what terms of surrender would be given. Grant replied: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately on your works."

berland rivers were thus opened, so that the gunboats of the river flotilla commanded a large part of western Kentucky and Tennessee. The Confederate forces thereupon got away from Bowling Green and Columbus, and took a new position at Corinth, an important railway junction. Federal troops immediately entered Nashville, and the Federal lines were extended almost to the northern boundary of Mississippi. The capture of Fort Donelson was the greatest military achievement that had taken place on the American continent up to that time.

The Battle of Shiloh. — Shortly after the Tennessee River was opened, Grant moved his army up the river to Pittsburg Landing, near Shiloh Church in Tennessee, and General Buell was ordered to join him. General Albert Sidney Johnston, in command of the Confederate forces at Corinth, attacked him (April 6) and drove him steadily back. By morning, however, General Buell had arrived. In the second day's fight, the Federal troops won a great victory. General Johnston¹ was mortally wounded and the Confederate forces, with General Beauregard in command, retreated to Corinth. In his official report Grant attributed to General Sherman the success of the battle. The slaughter was dreadful, about twenty-five thousand being killed.



ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON.

The Capture of Island Number Ten. — The islands of the lower Mississippi River, from the junction of the Ohio to New Orleans, are numbered in the order of their occurrence. Island Number Ten had been fortified by the Confederates, and it guarded a

¹ Johnston was one of the most capable officers in the Confederate army. He was also a most noble character. While lying on the field, he sent his surgeon to attend to a wounded Federal prisoner, and in the meantime bled to death.

long range of the Mississippi. After a siege lasting nearly a month, General Pope and Commodore Foote captured it, securing several thousand prisoners and a large amount of arms. The capture of this stronghold opened the Mississippi as far south as Memphis, and that city was shortly afterward in the possession of the Federal troops. By this time (June 4) the Federal troops were in control of western Kentucky and Tennessee, so that their line stretched from Memphis to Chattanooga.

General Bragg breaks the Line; Perryville; Murfreesboro.—The Federal forces held this territory for several months without opposition; then for a time they were put on the defensive. Early in the fall of 1862 the Confederate forces, under General Bragg, succeeded in breaking the line, and Bragg himself crossed Tennessee into Kentucky, intending to reach Louisville. For a short time he had things his own way; but General Buell finally headed him off and defeated him at Perryville, Kentucky (October 8, 1862). Bragg again attempted to move northwest, but he was met by the same forces, then under General Rosecrans who had succeeded Buell in command, and was so badly defeated at Murfreesboro (December 31) that all further attempts of the Confederates to regain Kentucky were given up.

Corinth and Iuka.—While General Bragg was raiding Kentucky, the Confederates made another attempt to extend their front, but they were headed off at Iuka by General Rosecrans. Immediately afterward the two Confederate armies, the one under Price and the other under Van Dorn, fell on General Rosecrans near Corinth, but they were defeated and driven back forty miles.

Operations West of the Mississippi; Pea Ridge.—West of the Mississippi River the Confederate lines reached a point within the Missouri border, and their forces held the state of Arkansas. Early in March (1862) General Curtis, in command of the Federal forces, moved upon the Confederate lines. The two armies met at Pea Ridge, where a hard battle was fought. The Confederates were defeated and forced south of the Arkansas River.

New Orleans Occupied.—There were a number of engagements in the southwest for the purpose of opening the Mississippi River

to communication, but of these the occupation of New Orleans was the most important. In April (1862) an expedition of naval and land forces, commanded by Commodore David G. Farragut and General B. F. Butler, appeared at the mouth of the Mississippi with the intention of taking New Orleans.

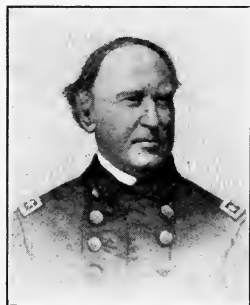
The Confederate forts and batteries at the river's mouth were bombarded for six days with but little effect, and Commodore Farragut decided to sail his flotilla past them. The obstructions in the river, consisting of dismantled vessels and logs connected by chains, were broken and swept away; and the forty vessels of the flotilla began their extraordinary voyage.

**Farragut
opens the
lower Mis-
sissippi.**

succeeded in forcing their way up the river to the Confederate squadron near New Orleans.

The Confederate squadron was destroyed or captured, and then the course of the flotilla was clear as far as New Orleans. On the 1st of May, the Federal troops were landed, and General Butler quickly occupied the city. Farragut afterward took part in opening the rest of the lower Mississippi.

Of the Mississippi River only the stretch from Port Hudson to Vicksburg remained in the control of the Confederate forces.



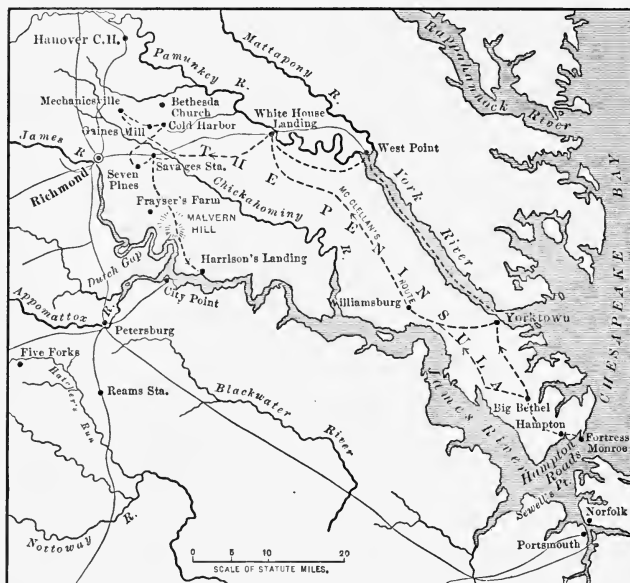
ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.

THE WAR IN THE EAST

JANUARY, 1862, TO JULY, 1863

The Plan of Campaign. — In the East, the capture of Richmond, the capital of the Confederate States, was the great object of the war. Concerning this, all were agreed. As to the manner of doing it there was a division of opinion. Popular sentiment and the Federal authorities in Washington desired that General McClellan should march his army southward from Washington, so that it would always have a position between Washington

and the Confederate army. General McClellan insisted on approaching Richmond by way of the James River. The result was a compromise and, like most compromises, it proved a failure.¹



THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

The plan of operations in the East as finally decided on involved the following movements:—

The occupation of the Shenandoah Valley by General Banks in order to protect Washington from the West.

A forward movement upon Richmond by General McDowell.

An invasion of the peninsula between the York River and the James River by General McClellan.

¹ Military students have generally agreed with McClellan's views. The route which the government authorities desired him to take involved the crossing of many rivers, every one of which could have been made a Confederate stronghold. There were also extensive forest-covered swamps, across which it would be almost impossible to transport the supplies. Indeed, it is now conceded that the plan was just as unwise as that forced on Burgoyne in 1777 (see page 158).



The first of these movements was carried out in part; the second failed because McDowell was called away to the Shenandoah Valley in order to head off Stonewall Jackson; the third became the chief effort of the campaign in the East.

McClellan's Peninsular Campaign; Fair Oaks. — By March, 1862, General Halleck had superseded General McClellan as commander-in-chief of the Federal forces, and the latter was made commander of the Army of the Potomac.¹ McClellan landed his troops at Fortress Monroe, and from that point advanced to the peninsula where, eighty years before, Lord Cornwallis had been penned by Washington. Yorktown was held by a Confederate force under General Magruder. After a siege lasting nearly a month, Magruder was driven to Williamsburg with his army badly crippled. Then he withdrew his troops to Richmond. McClellan followed until the Army of the Potomac was within a few miles of the city.



GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

The Confederate Congress adjourned and the principal officers of the government left Richmond expecting an immediate attack; but none was made. Shortly afterward General Joseph E. Johnston made a fierce attack on McClellan's forces at Fair Oaks (May 21, 1862), but was driven back to Richmond with a heavy loss.

The Strategy of General Lee and Stonewall Jackson. — In the meantime General McDowell had advanced nearly to Fredericksburg with forty-five thousand troops, intending to join McClellan. The Federal General Banks was holding the northern Shenandoah Valley while General Fré-

¹ The Army of the Potomac was a Federal army which was trying to take Richmond. The Army of Northern Virginia was a Confederate army defending Richmond.

mont was occupying West Virginia. It fell to Stonewall Jackson to prevent McDowell, Banks, and Frémont from sending reinforcements to help McClellan near Richmond. Jackson made a sudden dash down the Shenandoah Valley from Staunton to Winchester, where he defeated Banks, driving him over into Maryland.



STONEWALL JACKSON.

He then went south and met Frémont, who had just crossed the Alleghany Mountains; in a fierce battle at Cross Keys he drove Frémont back. Immediately he crossed the Shenandoah River and defeated at Port Republic a portion of McDowell's army, which had been sent to stop Jackson's mad career. In thirty-five days Jackson had cleared the Shenandoah Valley of Federal troops. This valley was "the back door to Washington" and Lincoln appreciated the danger of leaving the capital unprotected. He

therefore ordered McDowell back to defend Washington.

McClellan was thus left unaided to fight his Peninsular campaign. In the meanwhile, the Confederate commander, General J. E. Johnston, had been wounded and General Robert E. Lee¹ had been put in command of the Army of Northern Virginia. On being joined by Jackson, Lee began a series of bloody battles—the Seven Days' battles, they are called. At Malvern Hills, the last of the series, Lee was driven back. It was the opinion that McClellan might have cap-

¹ ROBERT E. LEE (1807-1870) was a native of Virginia, and a son of "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, the Revolutionary cavalry leader. He was graduated from West Point, and served gallantly in the Mexican War. At the outbreak of the Civil War, President Lincoln offered him the command of the United States army, but he answered that he could not take up arms against his state, his home, and his children. He was appointed major-general of the Virginia forces in 1861; for the last three years of the war he was commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. He showed real military genius, and more than once outgeneraled Grant before his surrender at Appomattox. He held the lasting devotion of the men who served under him and the high regard of all who knew him. From 1865 until his death he was president of Washington College in Virginia.

tured Richmond had he followed up his advantage, but he did not make the attempt.

Lee invades the North; Second Battle of Bull Run; Antietam; Fredericksburg. — After the failure to take Richmond, General Halleck was made commander-in-chief of the Federal army, and McClellan was ordered to join General Pope in northern Virginia. But before he could do so, Lee and Jackson started north. They fell on Pope at Bull Run, and defeated him (the second battle at that place), and then pushed northward into Maryland. It was a bold movement; General Lee had expected to increase his army by recruits from Maryland — but none came.

Then Pope and McClellan joined forces. They fell on Lee at Sharpsburg, near Antietam Creek, in Maryland, and there was fought one of the bloodiest battles of the war (September 17, 1862). The Federal forces were about seventy thousand strong; Lee had about forty thousand. Nevertheless, Lee escaped into Virginia. McClellan was censured for not following Lee and destroying his army.

**Battle of
Antietam**

The command of the Army of the Potomac was then given to General Ambrose E. Burnside. If McClellan was overcautious, Burnside was certainly too rash. In the middle of December he threw his army against Lee at Fredericksburg. Lee was strongly intrenched, and the result was a foregone conclusion. Burnside was defeated with terrible losses.

Because of the meddlesome advice of influential officials in Washington the operations in the East have sometimes been called a "politicians' campaign." Whether this criticism is deserved or not, it is certain that the result was discouraging to the Federal troops and encouraging to the Confederates. Nothing had been accomplished, while more than fifty thousand brave lives had been sacrificed. After the battle of Fredericksburg, both armies went into winter quarters, watching each other across the Rappahannock. During the temporary lull of fighting, the pickets of the opposing forces became friendly toward each other, and many a pipeful of tobacco slipped across the river between "Reb" and "Yank."

Emancipation of the Slaves. — When the war began, there was no intention on the part of the Federal authorities to liberate the slaves

in the seceded states. No other purpose was known than to restore and preserve the Union. The antislavery sentiment grew, however, and men of both parties in the North began to feel that the slaves in the seceded states should be liberated as a necessity of war.

The Thirty-seventh Congress passed an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and President Lincoln signed the act (April, 1862), which was to take effect at once. Compensation amounting to nearly \$1,000,000 was paid to the owners of the

slaves. A short time afterward other acts were passed emancipating the slaves in the territories and also all slaves who escaped into the lines of the Union armies.

President Lincoln finally decided that the emancipation of the slaves in the seceded states would be a war measure of great practical utility.

The Emancipation Proclamation

Therefore (September 22, 1862) he proclaimed that after January 1, 1863, "All persons held as slaves in any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and forever free." The seceded states did not return to the Union, and so, at the designated time, the slaves were emancipated; but the proclamation



GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

actually freed only those slaves who could escape to the Federal lines. The emancipation was declared to be "warranted by the Constitution as a military necessity."

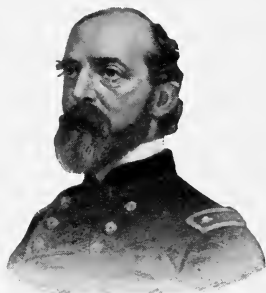
The proclamation of President Lincoln did not apply to the slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, as these states had not seceded; it did not apply to the western part of Virginia nor to such

**Slavery not
abolished**

parts of the Southern states as were within the Union lines. Furthermore, it did not abolish slavery at all. The abolition of slavery throughout the country could be accomplished only by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States was finally submitted to the states by the Congress early in 1865. During the year it was ratified by twenty-seven states, the necessary three fourths of the entire number.

Up to this time Great Britain, although acknowledging the Confederate States as a belligerent power, had not recognized their independence. The British ministry, however, was nearly ready to do so. The emancipation of the slaves turned the sympathy of the great mass of the English people in favor of the North, and so the independence of the Confederacy was not recognized.

Lee again invades the North; Chancellorsville; Gettysburg. — At the opening of the spring of 1863, General Lee was in readiness for the movement that became the turning point of the war — a second invasion of the North. In the meantime, General Joseph Hooker had been made commander of the Army of the Potomac, and had advanced to the rough, wooded region known as "the Wilderness." Hooker had more than one hundred thousand men; Lee had about sixty thousand. The two armies met at Chancellorsville (May 2), with the result that Hooker was badly defeated.



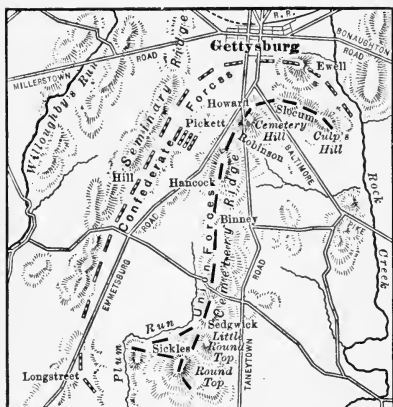
GENERAL MEADE.

Stonewall Jackson, a braver man than whom never donned a uniform, fell in the fight, unfortunately killed by his own men, who fired upon a part of his command mistaking them for Federal troops. General Meade was next put in command of the Army of the Potomac.

As soon as was possible, Lee started down the Shenandoah Valley, crossed the Potomac, and entered Pennsylvania. He hoped to capture Baltimore or Philadelphia, and to make the captured city

his base for further operations. He had been led to believe that, in possession of an important Northern city, the Confederacy might persuade the leading European powers to recognize its independence. Moreover, the reverses to the Federal army had caused a feeling of depression in the North, and he thought the possession of a large Northern city might lead the Federal government to recognize the independence of the Confederate States.

General Meade at once started to intercept Lee, and the two armies met at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Lee found Meade's army drawn up on a series of hills called Cemetery Ridge, with Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill at one extreme and Round Top and Little Round Top at the other.



THE BATTLEGROUND OF GETTYSBURG.

The battle raged for three days (July 1-3, 1863), and was the most stubbornly contested fight of the war. Each army was about seventy-five thousand strong. After two days of fighting, the Confederates succeeded in taking Culp's Hill, but they were soon dislodged. Then a terrific assault was made on the Federal center at Cemetery Hill; Pickett's troops actually reached the top of the hill, but were driven back by the Federals under General Hancock. Lee was defeated, but he made a very skillful retreat and got to a safe position south of the Potomac. The total losses were more than fifty thousand killed. The battle of Gettysburg is generally regarded as the turning point of the war. Thereafter the Confederate operations were almost wholly defensive in character. General Lee never again attempted to invade the North.

West Virginia admitted as a Separate State. 1863. — West Virginia was admitted as the thirty-fifth state, on June 19, 1863.

The new state was formed out of the part of Virginia that lay north and west of the high summits of the Appalachian Mountains. The constitution and organization of the state forbade slavery.

OPENING THE MISSISSIPPI

JANUARY, 1863, TO JULY, 1863

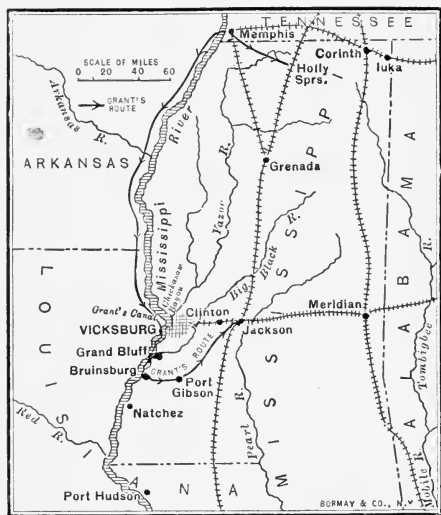
The Capture of Vicksburg. July 4, 1863.—The fact that the Mississippi from Vicksburg to Port Hudson was in the control of the Confederate forces prevented any great amount of communication along the river. Moreover, of all the places along the river held by the Confederates, Vicksburg was the most important. During the fall of 1862, General Grant had begun plans for the capture of the city and had established a depot of supplies at Holly Springs, a station of the Illinois Central Railroad that could be reached easily from either Memphis or Jackson. Inasmuch as the fortifications of Vicksburg were on a bluff so high that the guns of the river flotilla could not destroy them, it was necessary to plan the attack by land as well as by water.

Admiral Porter and General William T. Sherman had been sent down the river to take a position near Vicksburg; Grant himself was preparing to move his army by rail. But during the time of Bragg's raid into Kentucky,¹ the Confederate cavalryman, General Van Dorn, made a quick dash upon Holly Springs and destroyed all the supplies stored there. Their cash value was about \$1,500,000, but their value for the particular occasion was beyond estimation. To add to the discomfiture of Grant, Confederate troops under General Forrest destroyed the only railway by which the supplies could be renewed. At that very moment (December 29, 1862) Sherman's troops were wading through the swamps, charging the Confederate earthworks on the high bluffs at Chickasaw Bayou, five miles from Vicksburg. The attack was barren of results.

Loss of supplies at Holly Springs

¹ See page 316.

The city of Vicksburg is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, opposite an oxbow of the river. A high bluff back of the city commands a long and broad sweep of the river and its approaches. About ten miles north of the city, on the Yazoo, is Haines Bluff. This bluff was fortified as strongly as earthworks and guns could make it.



THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

East and south of the city the land is high; west and north it is low and swampy. Sluggish bayous flow out of the river and, after forming a network of swales, flow into the river again farther down. During the spring nearly all this bottom land is covered at times with the overflow of the river.

General Grant's efforts to capture the city lasted from January to July, and they constitute a remarkable event of military history. He could not hope to make an assault upon the city from the river; the flotilla could not train its guns against the earthworks, while it could be reached by a destructive fire. The plans, one after another, devised by his superiors in office proved of no value.¹ Then Grant took

¹ Between January and the middle of May, four plans were tried: 1. Williams "canal" was dug across the loop opposite the city, in order to divert the river. A freshet in the river destroyed the canal. 2. It was planned to take the gunboats by way of Red River up through a network of bayous, opening through Lake Providence into the Mississippi. The engineers were clearing this channel when the plan was abandoned. 3. The levee at Yazoo Pass was blown up, and a channel down the Yazoo was cleared halfway to Vicksburg. The Confederate earthworks at Fort Pemberton put a stop to this plan. 4. Work was begun on a similar

matters in his own hands. The supplies were put on transports, and Admiral Porter ran them down the river past the batteries, through a terrific fire. By the end of March, Grant had marched his entire army down the west side of the river to Bruinsburg, where Porter had landed the supplies.

At that point Grant crossed the river and defeated the Confederates at Grand Gulf. Cutting loose from the supplies and depending on the surrounding country for provisions, Grant and Sherman then headed for Jackson, Mississippi. From Jackson they fought their way westward along the line of the railroad, until they had driven the Confederate army into Vicksburg. For the next forty-five days it was simply a matter of waiting and of keeping the Confederates closely shut within the city. And the same day (July 4, 1863) that General Lee turned backward into Virginia after the terrific fight at Gettysburg, General Pemberton surrendered the famine-stricken city of Vicksburg to Grant. It was the greatest military capitulation of modern warfare up to that time.

Port Hudson.—While Vicksburg was suffering the pangs of starvation, General Banks was besieging Port

Hudson, some miles down the river. After the fall of Vicksburg the Confederate garrison at Port Hudson, which had withstood

channel through the Big Sunflower Bayou, which offered a possible passage. The Confederates blocked this passage also. In the main these plans were prepared by politicians and amateur "generals" at Washington. The plan finally followed was disapproved at Washington, but Grant had taken the precaution to destroy the telegraph lines, and did not receive his orders until Vicksburg was invested.

Vicksburg
surrendered



GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

two attacks and a siege of six weeks, saw that further resistance was hopeless. The place was surrendered on July 9th.

Results of the Campaign. — The capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson had effects that were very far-reaching. The winning of these two places gave to the Federal authorities the control of the Mississippi from source to mouth. It cut the Confederate States in twain. It shut off a large part of the cotton crop that had furnished much of the revenue to the Confederate government. The moral effect on the Northern people was very great. The long list of reverses had created a feeling of depression, and for the first time the condition of affairs began to look hopeful. The Southern people did not lose confidence, however.

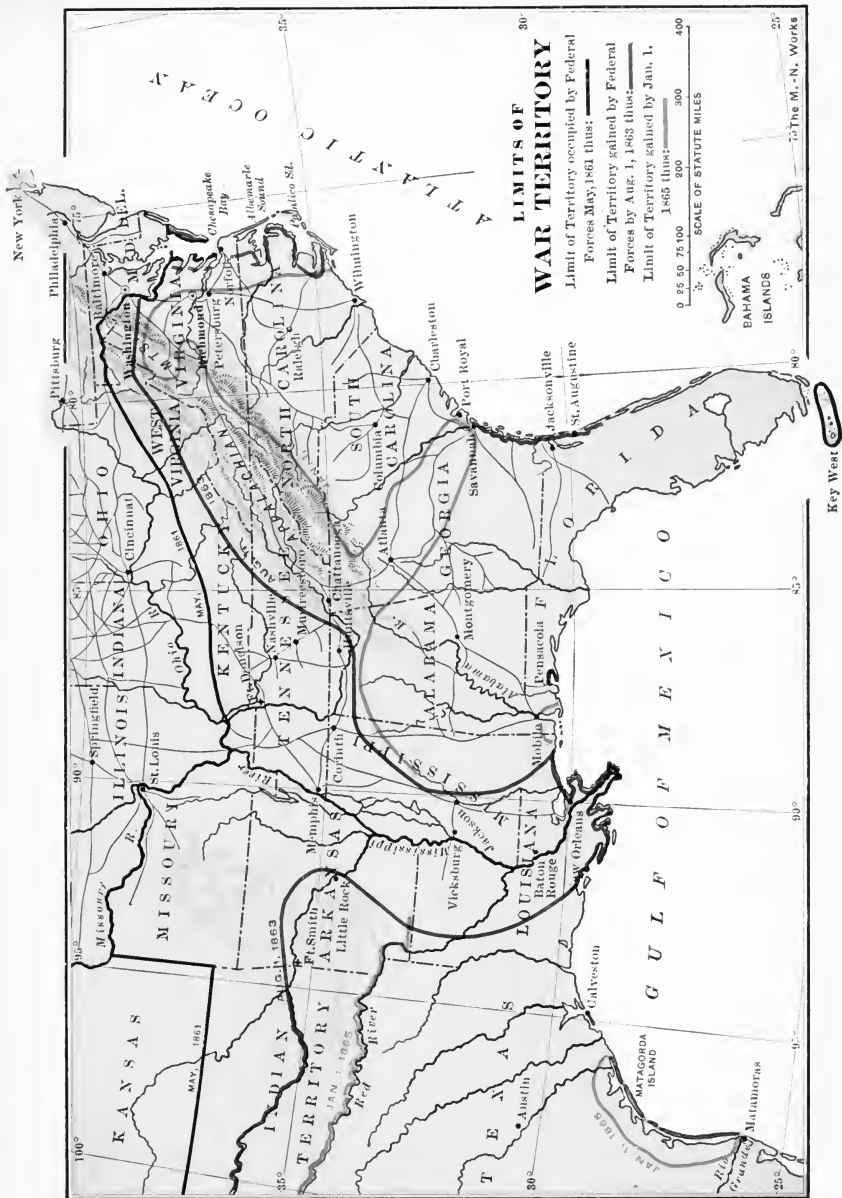
THE CAMPAIGN IN TENNESSEE AND GEORGIA

JULY, 1863, TO JULY, 1864

The Situation in 1863. — After the battle of Murfreesboro¹ (December 31, 1862) there were no decisive military operations in Tennessee and Georgia for six months. Both armies had been terribly weakened by the dreadful slaughter of battle, and all troops that could be spared were sent to strengthen the forces in Virginia or in the Mississippi Valley.² In Tennessee there was a Confederate stronghold of great importance — Chattanooga. The position of the city is such that it commands the one natural

¹ See page 316.

² By this time the problem of getting men fit for service had become a serious one. In the North the authorities had already resorted to conscription, and every county of each state was required to furnish its quota, or proportion, of troops. In New York City, where there was a large foreign population controlled by unscrupulous demagogues, serious riots occurred and more than twelve hundred rioters were killed. The Federal authorities enlisted about one hundred eighty thousand negroes, and they made good soldiers. In the South the conscription was also employed, and it finally included all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years. Loss of troops by capture crippled the Confederate fighting force far more than it hurt the Federal army. The condition of the Southern prison camps was horrible. The Confederate authorities refused to exchange white soldiers for negroes; as a result, it became necessary to establish great prison pens for captives of war on both sides.



highway between Tennessee and Georgia; it was at that time the chief railway center of the South.

Chickamauga. September 19, 1863.—In June General Rosecrans advanced from Murfreesboro and began a series of movements that forced General Bragg to leave Chattanooga and take a new position at Chickamauga Creek, Georgia, a few miles south of Chattanooga. General Rosecrans followed him and gave battle (September 19). One wing of the Federal army was driven back during the second day; the other wing, commanded by General Thomas, one of the great characters of the war, held firm and prevented a disastrous defeat.¹ As a result of the battle the Federal troops were penned in Chattanooga by General Bragg and cut off from communication with the rest of the army.



GENERAL G. H. THOMAS.

Chattanooga, Missionary Ridge, and Lookout Mountain. November, 1863.—Two high cliffs,—Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain,—where the Tennessee River breaks through the southern Appalachian ranges, overlook the city of Chattanooga. General Bragg's troops held them, and for a time it seemed likely that the Federal army in the city would be starved into surrendering.²

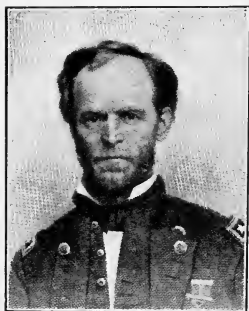
In the meantime, General Grant saw the serious condition of matters and took command, summoning troops from east and west. By the last week in November he had succeeded in getting food and ammunition into the city and was ready for attack. Sherman and Thomas made an attack on Missionary Ridge, and the latter captured it by a hand-to-hand conflict. At the same time General Hooker assailed Lookout Mountain, and at its crest was fought the famous "battle above the clouds" (November 24,

¹ For his skill and gallantry that day Thomas won the title "the Rock of Chickamauga."

² Several thousand horses and mules actually starved to death. There was but a single road open to the Federal lines and this was practically impassable.

1863). These terrific assaults broke Bragg's strength and destroyed the strength of his army. With the remnant he retreated to Dalton, Georgia. By the capture of Chattanooga, the Federal army had gained practically the remainder of the Mississippi Valley.

Final Plans.—There remained only two Confederate forces of importance—General Johnston's army at Dalton and General Lee's in Virginia. Early in the spring plans for the final campaign were arranged by General Grant, to whom had been given command of the entire Federal army, with the rank of lieutenant-general. Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia were the only remaining states held by the Confederacy. It was determined that Sherman should force a passage eastward across Georgia to the coast, while Grant should march upon Lee and hold him at Richmond until Sherman could reach the Confederate capital from the south.



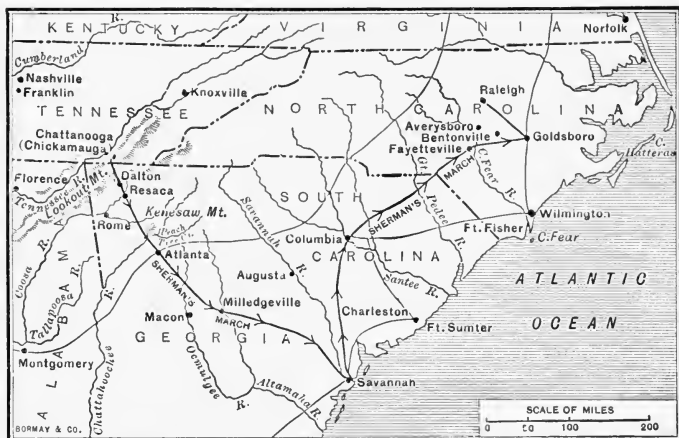
GENERAL SHERMAN.

The Campaign in Georgia.—Early in May, 1864, with about one hundred thousand men, General Sherman moved against the Confederate forces at Dalton, and drove them step by step toward Atlanta. There were hard-fought battles at Resaca, at Dallas, and at Kenesaw Mountain. In handling his army, General Johnston displayed great skill, but circumstances were against him. The Confederate authorities replaced him by General Hood, and the latter made several savage attacks upon Sherman only to suffer defeat. Sherman took possession of Atlanta, and gathered his forces there.

When ready for his long march, Sherman left General Thomas to take care of Hood's army, and started for Savannah (November 12). His army moved in four columns, covering a path sixty miles in width. In order to prevent any Confederate force from following, he burned bridges and destroyed the railways and everything else that might be used against him. It was a cruel thing; but it was war. By the

Sherman's
march to
the sea

middle of December he had captured the outposts of Savannah. A week later he captured the city itself, with a large store of ammunition and twenty-five thousand bales of cotton (December 21). There Sherman went into winter quarters.



SHERMAN'S CAMPAIGN IN GEORGIA.

In the meantime General Thomas had followed Hood into Tennessee and the two armies came together at Nashville in a desperate battle (December 15, 1864). Hood's army was cut to pieces and was practically wiped out of existence.

THE CLOSING CAMPAIGNS IN VIRGINIA

MAY, 1864, TO APRIL, 1865

Battles of the Wilderness. May, 1864. — By this time General Lee had gathered all the troops that could be mustered, and they were ready for the final campaign before the Confederate capital. Early in May of 1864, General Grant crossed the Rapidan and entered the Wilderness.¹ Almost from the moment he began

¹ It was the same region in which the battle of Chancellorsville had been fought just about a year previous.

his march, there was bloody fighting, and for a time it was incessant (May 5-7). The timber and the undergrowth prevented anything like the strategic movement of troops; the opposing forces simply mowed each other down with a most deadly fire. Just at a time when his staff officers thought that a retreat across the Rapidan was inevitable, Grant ordered a forward movement and advanced to Spottsylvania.

Spottsylvania; Cold Harbor; Petersburg. May to August, 1864. —

General Lee stubbornly resisted every attempt on the part of the Federal army to move forward, and five days of desperate fighting about Spottsylvania gave to neither side any material advantage. Then the Confederate forces moved back to Cold Harbor, where there were strong intrenchments. General Grant tried to take the fortifications by a direct attack, but his troops were repelled with a terrible slaughter (June 3). Then, by a flank movement, he hurried his army past Richmond to Petersburg, an outpost a few miles south of the Confederate capital. But Lee moved his army even more rapidly, and was behind the fortifications at Petersburg before Grant reached the place.

From that time the campaign became a siege. The two armies had lost each about fifty thousand men, and there had been practically no gain on either side. The war had reached a stage of desperation, and human life counted for but little. During the siege before Petersburg, a mine had been dug under a Confederate fort and the latter was blown up. The explosion of the mine was followed by an assault by the Federal troops, but fearing that the ground in front of them was mined, they hesitated for a moment when they reached the breach or "crater" made by the explosion. At this, the Confederates concentrated a most deadly fire upon them, with the result that about four thousand of the Federal force were slain (July 30).

Early's Raid in the Shenandoah Valley. — About this time Lee sent General Jubal Early down the Shenandoah Valley to threaten Washington. Early made a brilliant dash, and at one time was within six miles of the city. He also crossed into Pennsylvania and burnt the city of Chambersburg. In the meantime, he helped himself liberally to cattle, horses, provisions, and everything else

that was needed by his troops. The object of the raid was to divert General Grant's attention from the siege of Richmond. This it accomplished. Grant detached General Philip H. Sheridan from the forces before Richmond and sent him to the Shenandoah Valley with orders to destroy everything that could possibly be used for the support of Early's troops, thereby preventing his stay in the valley. After the work was accomplished, a crow could hardly have lived there.

Cedar Creek; Sheridan's Ride. — During the maneuvers of the two armies, Sheridan defeated Early at Winchester (September 19) and again at Fishers Hill. Then Early got reinforcements and fell on the troops at Cedar Creek while Sheridan was absent at Winchester (October 19). The Federal troops were thrown into confusion, and began a retreat that was almost a rout. Sheridan heard the firing and guessed what was taking place. In two hours he galloped his horse from Winchester, twenty miles distant, turned the retreating soldiers, reformed his lines, and began a most vigorous attack. Early's force was defeated and routed. In that brief campaign more than thirty thousand men gave up their lives. Smoking ruins and burnt fields were all that was left of the beautiful Shenandoah Valley.



GENERAL SHERIDAN.

The Fall of Richmond. April, 1865. — By the beginning of 1865 the Confederate government was in a desperate situation. Alexander H. Stephens, vice-president of the Confederacy, met President Lincoln on board a United States warship at Hampton Roads with the hope of obtaining terms of peace. The terms which President Lincoln offered were the surrender and disbanding of the Confederate army and the abolition of slavery. To these terms the Confederate government refused to agree.

General Grant had now closed in upon Petersburg. The siege of Petersburg, which was virtually the siege of Richmond, was

7th Apr '65—

Genl

I have rec^d your note of this date, though not entertaining the opinion you express of the hopefulness of further resistance on the part of the Army of N. Va. — I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, & therefore before considering your proposition ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

Very respt^{ly} your obt^l friend

R Lee
Genl

H. Genl U. S. Grant
Command^g Armies of the U. States

LEE'S LETTER TO GRANT REGARDING THE SURRENDER.

carried on for several months without advantage to either side. In the meantime, Grant's generals were carrying out his plans. Sherman had crossed the Carolinas, and had captured and destroyed Columbia (February 17). He had defeated General Johnston at Averysboro and Bentonville, in North Carolina. Sheridan had inflicted a heavy blow at Five Forks, Virginia, capturing the Con-

federate artillery. Early in April the main part of the works at Petersburg were carried; immediately afterward Lee evacuated Petersburg and Richmond (April 3, 1865), and the Federal troops took possession of the Confederate capital.

Lee's Surrender. April 9, 1865. — It was Lee's hope to break through the Federal lines and join Johnston's forces in North Carolina. Grant pursued him closely, however, and cut off his retreat. His army was without food, and there was but one thing he could do — surrender. At Appomattox, April 9, 1865, Grant received the surrender of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia.¹ He returned to General Lee his sword. Then he ordered five days' rations issued to Lee's soldiers and sent them off to their farms. Those who had horses or mules were permitted to keep them. There were a few minor conflicts elsewhere in the South; then the Civil War was ended.

As soon as Richmond was evacuated, the officers of the Confederate government fled in various directions toward the coast, hoping to escape by vessels. Jefferson Davis, the president, went into Georgia and was captured at Irwinsville (May 10). He was taken to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and there confined until 1867. Subsequently, he was released on bail, but neither he nor the other officers of the Confederacy were ever prosecuted.²

NAVAL WORK OF THE CIVIL WAR

1861 TO 1865

The Navies, Federal and Confederate. — When the Civil War began, the total number of vessels constituting the United States

¹ Seventeen days after Lee's surrender General J. E. Johnston surrendered his forces to Sherman, and within the next month the few scattered forces elsewhere surrendered. The statistics of the War Department give twenty-eight thousand as the number of Lee's army that surrendered at Appomattox; according to Confederate statistics the number was somewhat smaller. There was an entire absence of animosity on the part of the soldiers of the two armies.

² The keeper of the military prison at Andersonville, Georgia, was court-martialed for the inhuman treatment of Federal soldiers who were captives of war. He was convicted and hanged.

navy, available for immediate use, was thirteen—seven steam vessels, one tug, and five sailing vessels. There were seventeen ships in foreign ports, but to recall them required weeks and even months. All vessels were at once summoned home, however, and additional vessels were purchased or were built. Including the craft designed for service on the rivers, a fleet of about four hundred vessels were fitted, armed, and put into service during the war.

The Confederacy was as badly off; not only were the war authorities without ships, but there were no shipbuilding plants or the machine shops necessary for their construction. The Southern states grew about five million bales of cotton each year, however, and if this could be delivered to England and other European markets, it would bring to the Confederate treasury many million dollars yearly. With the proceeds of the cotton the Confederate authorities could purchase all the munitions of war they might need.

The Blockade.—To prevent this trade, therefore, was an important object of the Federal authorities. In April, 1861, President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade¹ of the coast of the Confederate states, and armed cruisers were stationed about the various ports from Virginia to Texas. All foreign vessels were forbidden to enter or to leave these ports under penalty of confiscation. The blockade became effective in a short time; nevertheless, it did not deter adventurous sailors from undertaking the very risky enterprise of attempting to run the blockade. If successful, it was tremendously profitable. Because of the blockade, cotton was worth from five to eight cents a pound in Wilmington, North Carolina; in Liverpool, it brought from fifty to sixty cents, and sometimes more.

The Blockade Runners.—The blockade runners were built especially for the business. They were of light draught, and could easily thread their way through channels too shallow for their

¹ The right to proclaim a blockade is recognized among nations and in international law. To be effective, however, there must be an actual and not merely a "paper" blockade. Vessels entering or leaving a blockaded port do so at their own risk. Either one of two powers at war may search a suspected vessel on the high sea, and seize munitions of war destined for the other.

pursuers; they could also ride safely over obstructions that might hinder other vessels. Their low freeboards were painted a dirty gray, which made them almost invisible at a distance of a few miles; and to make them less easy to be seen, the smokestack was removed when the danger zone was reached. They burned smokeless coal, so that there was no tell-tale smoke band to mark the vessel's track. They were also speedier than the blockading vessels.

The vessel's run was timed so as to reach the port of destination at high tide, in the dark of the moon. Then, if not captured or sunk, she would make a dash for the port, sell her cargo, take one of cotton in return, and watch her chance to escape.¹ The profitable character of the business is evident from the fact that more than fifteen hundred blockade runners were captured or sunk.

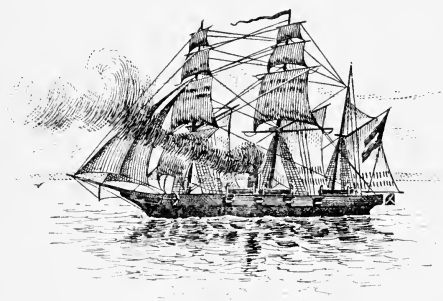
The Confederate Commerce Destroyers. — The Confederate authorities succeeded in inflicting a great deal of damage on the commerce of the United States during the war, and the greater part of it was accomplished by steamships built in Liverpool. They were probably the best vessels ever built for the purpose up to that time.² Several of them were superior in speed to the best ships of the Federal navy.

The *Sumter* was one of the first of the destroyers to go into commission. She cruised about the Gulf of Mexico, and destroyed a score of merchant ships. She was finally chased from the Gulf of Mexico into the harbor of Gibraltar, where she was sold in order to escape capture.

¹ Because of their convenient position, the Bahamas became naturally the center of the blockade-running business, and most of it was carried on from Nassau, the port and chief town of New Providence Island. To this port merchandise or even munitions of war might be lawfully sent from any other place without risk. It was Great Britain's duty to see that none of the munitions should be sent from Nassau to either belligerent, but she did not do so. Nassau is within easy reach of the Gulf and the South Atlantic ports; to Wilmington, North Carolina, then a very important Confederate port, the distance was about five hundred miles — less than two days' run.

² There were about twenty of these destroyers. Three of them, the *Georgia*, the *Tallahassee*, and the *Tacony*, captured or destroyed about fifty merchantmen.

Her master, Semmes, then took command of the *Alabama*. This vessel was built in England, with English capital, manned with an English crew, and left Liverpool flying the English flag, in spite of the protests of the American minister. Her officers were officers of the Confederate navy. During the two years of her existence, she cruised in the Atlantic and captured sixty-six merchant vessels. In June, 1864, she was overhauled in the harbor of Cherbourg, a French port on



THE ALABAMA.

the English Channel, by the *Kearsarge*. A challenge to fight was sent by her commander to Captain Winslow of the *Kearsarge*. The challenge was promptly accepted, and after a hot conflict the *Alabama* was sunk (June 19, 1864).

The *Shenandoah* had been a steamship plying between London and Bombay. She was purchased and refitted as a commerce destroyer, her guns being delivered to her by a British ship at an uninhabited island near Madeira. The *Shenandoah* cruised about the Pacific, where she captured or destroyed thirty-eight vessels, mainly whaling ships and vessels in the China trade. At the close of the war she was returned to the British authorities. The *Florida*,¹ another of the active commerce destroyers, was built in Liverpool and armed in the Bahamas.

It is not often that the British government has been concerned in

¹ The *Florida* was discovered in the harbor of Bahia, Brazil, by the *Wachusett*. The commander of the latter entered the harbor, captured the vessel, and towed her out, in spite of the protests of the Brazilian authorities. To enter a neutral harbor and capture a vessel was a gross violation of international law; and so the act was disavowed by the Federal government, and the vessel was ordered to be returned with an apology. The apology reached the Brazilian authorities, but the vessel did not; she was sunk by an alleged accident. Altogether it was a discreditable piece of work.

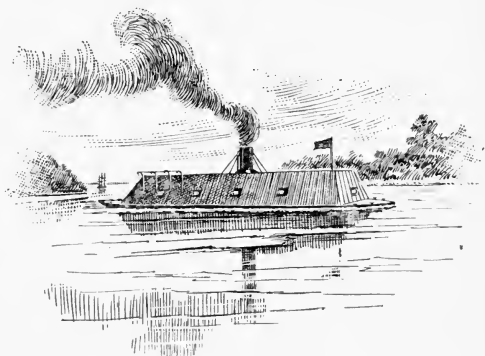
unfair practices, even in time of war. In fitting out these destroyers, however, the authorities openly violated the laws of neutrality; in the end, they were compelled to pay a round sum for it.¹

The Ironclads. — The work of the two navies on inland waters was unique; nothing approaching it had ever occurred before in the history of warfare. The gunboat flotillas built by both parties to the conflict proved to have excellent fighting qualities. They were of light draught, and their sloping sides, well armored with iron, resisted the fire of the enemy so well that only point blank shots at short range were likely to penetrate the vessel.²

Just before the beginning of hostilities, the steam frigate *Merrimac* was undergoing repairs at the Norfolk Navy Yard in Virginia. Rather than to permit this vessel to fall into the hands of the Confederate authorities, the commandant of the navy yard set fire to her. When the Confederate

The Virginia

authorities got possession of the navy yard, it was found that the hull and engines of the sunken *Merrimac* were uninjured. The hull was raised and on the deck was built a house work, the four sides of which sloped to an edge. This bulwark consisted of timbers two feet



THE VIRGINIA.

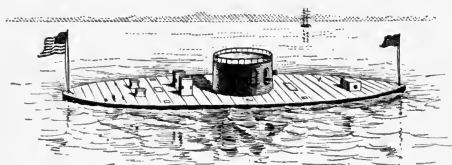
thick plated with an iron armor four inches thick. The reconstructed vessel was armed, commissioned, and renamed the *Virginia*.

¹ See page 360.

² The idea of iron armor was not new. In 1860 the British Admiralty had built the *Warrior*, and had plated her with an armor of iron four and one half inches thick. This had been done because armor plates had already been put on four French warships. The matter of armor-plated ships had, therefore, become one of world-wide interest. The *Warrior* was considered by far the most powerful fighting machine in existence.

About four months after the construction of the *Virginia*, John Ericsson¹ made a contract with the Federal authorities for an iron vessel unique in character, which was delivered to the government early in 1862. The greater part of her hull was below the water line; there was less than three feet above water. A low conning tower projected above

The Monitor



THE MONITOR.

the armored deck, and from the grating of this the helmsman could see to steer the vessel. Amidship there was a revolving turret containing two eleven-inch guns. The

vessel was named the *Monitor*. She was insignificant in appearance and no one had much confidence in her fighting power.

The Great Naval Duel. 1862. — In March, 1862, the *Virginia* was ordered to destroy the vessels that were blockading the Virginia coast. Her first attempt was directed against the vessels stationed in Hampton Roads. She deliberately steamed up to the *Cumberland*, rammed a great hole in her side, and poured a murderous broadside into her as she pulled away. The *Cumberland* sank in a very few minutes. Then the *Virginia* made for the *Congress*. In the first two or three broadsides the *Congress* caught fire and burned furiously; then the vessel surrendered. By this time it was dark, and the *Virginia* drew away, intending in the morning to sink the *Minnesota*, the *Roanoke*, and the *St. Lawrence*. After that Washington, New York, and the other great ports of the North were at her mercy.

In the meantime the *Monitor* had been dispatched to Hampton Roads. She reached the Roads after a most stormy passage of fifty hours, during which more than once she seemed certain to founder. It was nearly daylight when she steamed alongside the *Minnesota*, but there was no time to give her crew the rest they so much needed. When day-

The battle of Hampton Roads

¹ He was an engineer of Swedish birth, then living in New York. The ironclad was built at Greenpoint, Long Island.

light came, the *Virginia* steamed for the *Minnesota*, but the *Monitor* took up the fight in good earnest. The *Virginia* poured broadside after broadside against her antagonist, but the shot glanced harmlessly from the *Monitor's* turret. A shot that crumbled against the grating of the conning tower disabled Lieutenant Worden, her commander, but did no other damage. Several times the *Virginia* tried to ram the *Monitor*, and once she ran over the latter's bow; but the blow that would have sunk a wooden frigate did not harm the *Monitor*. For about three hours it was almost a muzzle-to-muzzle battle. Then the *Virginia* drew away. She had failed to destroy the rest of the fleet; moreover, she was powerless to do further damage.¹

The naval battle of two days demonstrated the fact that the best of wooden warships could not stand for a moment against such a fighting machine as either the *Monitor* or the *Virginia*. Point-blank broadsides, even at a distance of a few yards, scarcely dented either the *Monitor* or the *Virginia*, while a single fortunate shot at a distance of a mile might penetrate and sink a wooden ship. The naval authorities of the United States learned the lesson well. Coast defense vessels of the *Monitor* type have an important place in the American navy, and the revolving turret is a part of the construction of every battleship.

Results of Naval Operations on the Coast.—The coast operations of the navy were confined mainly to the enforcement of the blockade. The chief offensive work consisted of the occupation of the various defenses about Palmico and Albemarle sounds, and the capture of Port Royal in the latter part of 1861.² After the evacuation of Norfolk by the Confederates, the Federal navy controlled the greater part of the coast from Norfolk to Florida. Pensacola, the forts at the mouth of the Mississippi, and New Orleans were captured during the spring of 1862. An attack

¹ Both vessels were undeserving of the fate that overtook them. The *Monitor*, which was never built for deep-sea sailing, was unseaworthy in bad weather. She foundered shortly afterward in a storm off Cape Hatteras, and a number of her crew went down with her. When the Confederate forces abandoned Norfolk, it was found that the *Virginia* drew too much water to get up the James River to a place of safety; she was therefore blown up.

² See page 311.

looking to the capture of Charleston was made in April, 1863; Fort Sumter and some of the near-by fortifications were destroyed, but the Federal forces failed to take the city. Wilmington and its fortifications, the objective point of most blockade runners, were not captured until a few months before the surrender of Lee.¹

FINANCING THE WAR

The Cost of the War.—Carrying on the war cost the Federal government an average of very nearly \$2,000,000 a day for a period of four years. At its high-water mark (August 1, 1865) the national debt was not far from \$2,850,000,000. When the pensions and other indirect expenses are added, the cost of the war was not less than \$6,000,000,000. This debt, principal and interest, for the greater part was to be paid in gold.

The government was compelled to do what an individual does when he requires more money than he has in possession—it borrowed. For some of the expenditures, especially those paid in foreign countries, gold and silver were required, as these bills were to be paid cash down. For this purpose, the coin in circulation throughout the North was very quickly gathered in and sent to the Treasury.² This amount, however, was only a drop in the bucket; the great bulk of money was borrowed through the aid of banks at home and abroad, and for the money thus borrowed bonds and notes were given. A very large part of these loans were arranged through the banking house of Jay Cooke, one of the ablest financiers the country has ever produced. A large amount of money was also raised by internal taxation.

¹ During the latter part of 1864, the Confederate ironclad *Albemarle* appeared in Albemarle Sound, destroyed the *Southfield*, and threatened the existence of the other vessels of the blockading squadron. A "dare-devil" lieutenant, William Barker Cushing, fitted a small launch with a torpedo swung at the bow, steamed to the *Albemarle* at night, lowered the torpedo under her hull, and blew her up. Cushing's own launch was destroyed and most of the crew were drowned. Cushing swam ashore, and finally made his way within the Federal lines. The destruction of the *Albemarle* led to the capture of Plymouth, North Carolina.

² Much of the coin, however, was quickly gathered in by leading banks and held at a high premium. To provide the money for ordinary business, the first greenbacks were issued.

Bonds. — The bonds issued by the government were in the form of a promise to pay to the holder the sum designated. Some of these bonds were payable in twenty years, some in thirty, and some in forty years. Most of them were to be paid in gold. For some time the bonds did not bring their face value because the buyers feared that the government might not be able to redeem them. Unscrupulous speculators also tried to impair their value in order to lower their price. More than \$1,000,000,000 worth of these bonds were sold, and every dollar's worth of principal and interest was paid on the date it was due.

Notes and Currency. — The notes issued by the Treasury Department were of two kinds, — the ordinary "greenback" and the interest-bearing treasury note. The greenbacks were merely promises to pay the face value on the demand of the holder. They passed from hand to hand as money. They were not worth their face value in gold and, owing to unscrupulous speculators, they depreciated steadily until it was evident that the Federal government would succeed in holding the Union together. At one time a dollar greenback was worth only forty cents in gold. The issue of greenbacks amounted to \$450,000,000.

The treasury notes, of which there were several kinds, bore interest. In the popular mind they were "safe," and therefore they were hoarded by the banks and by small capitalists until they gradually disappeared from circulation. The total issue of the interest-bearing treasury notes amounted to a little more than \$575,000,000.

The fractional paper currency — paper money issued in fractions of a dollar — was designed to take the place of the silver coins that had entirely disappeared from circulation.¹ The denominations issued were the same as those of the silver coin which they replaced, except that a fifteen-cent piece was issued. Until the issue of this currency, small change was so scarce that postage stamps, street-car tickets, and the stamped cards of business firms were used in making change. During the time that paper money was in use, it is estimated that several million dollars' worth was lost or destroyed, and inasmuch as it was not

¹ The fractional currency was facetiously known as "shinplasters."

presented to the Treasury for redemption, the government was the gainer.

Internal Taxation. — A large revenue was raised by means of a tax on goods used at home. This was known as the internal revenue tax. As a matter of fact, not many things escaped this kind of taxation, except food. Liquors, tobacco, bottled goods, and legal documents yielded the greater part of the revenue, which was collected by the use of stamps purchased and affixed by the manufacturer. The tax on liquors and tobacco has been continued to the present time.

National Banks. — At the beginning of the war most of the banks of the United States were operating under state charters. At that time, Salmon P. Chase, then secretary of the treasury, urged the passage of an act to establish national banks, so that the sale of United States bonds might be made easier; in other words, with the existence of such banks, partly under the control of the United States Treasury, it would be much easier for the government to borrow money. The act was opposed by the various banks of the country, and not until 1863 did it pass the Congress.

A reason why the state banks opposed the measure is not hard to find. Each bank was required to buy government bonds to the amount of one third of its capital, and to deposit them with the Treasury Department as security. For two years only a few of the state banks became national banks; so the Congress put a tax of ten per cent on all bills, or money, issued by state banks. Then most of them became national banks in order to escape the tax. The result was very beneficial; a great many irresponsible banks — “wild-cat banks” they were called

**Provisions
for security**

— were forced to give up business. Some of them had been established with the distinct purpose of swindling the communities in which they had been established; others were honestly but inefficiently managed. Under the new law, if a national bank failed, the Treasury Department redeemed its bills with the proceeds of the bonds on deposit.

Finances of the Confederate States. — The Confederate government had great difficulty in raising money for war purposes.

The chief resource of the Southern states was cotton, which could not be sold because of the blockade. The Confederate government sold bonds of its own issue in Europe, but in time no one cared to take the risk involved in buying them. After a while, every cotton grower was required to loan to the government a considerable part of the money he might receive for his crop, provided he got it to market, taking his pay in Confederate bonds. When it was no longer possible to raise money in this way, bills were issued to the amount of several hundred millions of dollars. These depreciated, little by little, and at the close



PAPER MONEY ISSUED BY THE CONFEDERACY.

of the war they were practically worthless. As the Confederacy did not win its independence, neither the bills nor the bonds were ever redeemed.

RECONSTRUCTION

Plans for reconstructing the Seceded States.—The problem of getting the seceded states back into the Union began before the end of the war, and from the first it proved a most difficult one. As early as 1863, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana were occupied by Federal troops, and the people were ready to come into the Union again. By their support of the Confederacy they had gained nothing and lost everything.

President Lincoln showed his broad character and goodness of heart. In a proclamation of amnesty, he declared his will-

ingness to pardon all who were at that time, or had been, in rebellion against the Federal government, provided that they should take oath to support the Constitution and obey the laws of the United States. The President also directed the qualified voters to organize their state governments. The three states did this; but when their legislatures elected senators to the Congress, that body refused to receive them. The Congress then formed a plan of its own

**Amnesty
proclama-
tion.**



RICHMOND AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

for readmitting the states, but the bill was passed at the end of the session and President Lincoln did not sign it. So the matter dragged along, and at the close of the war nothing had been accomplished. Neither the Congress nor the President cared to take any steps until after the general election, in November, 1864.

The Reëlection of Lincoln. 1864. — The general election occurred before the Civil War had been fought to a finish. During the spring of 1864 a faction of the Republican party became dissatisfied with Lincoln. Its leaders called a convention, which met

at Cleveland, Ohio, and nominated John C. Frémont for the presidency. This faction believed that Lincoln had been too lenient in dealing with the people of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana and thought that all reconstruction plans should be made by the Congress.

A week after the convention at Cleveland, the regular Republican party met in convention at Baltimore. A number of "War Democrats" joined them. Lincoln was renominated and Andrew Johnson, a Union Democrat of Tennessee, was named for Vice-President. This convention approved of Lincoln's war policy and of the plan which he wished to put in operation in reconstructing the Southern states.

The Democrats, meeting in convention at Chicago, nominated General George B. McClellan for the presidency and declared that the war should cease. McClellan accepted the nomination, but at once stated his opinion that the war was not a failure and should be prosecuted to the end, thus repudiating the platform of his party.

Frémont withdrew in September as a candidate for the presidency, and Lincoln was easily elected over McClellan.

The Murder of President Lincoln. 1865.—At the time when there was a general rejoicing over the close of the war, President Lincoln was struck down by the hand of an assassin. The dreadful occurrence took place on April 14, 1865. The President was attending a performance at Ford's Theater, in Washington, accompanied by his wife and some friends. During the progress of the play, a one-time actor named John Wilkes Booth forced his way into the President's box and shot him. The President died without recovering consciousness. The murder was the result of a conspiracy that planned also the murder of several other officers of the government. The assassin was hunted down and killed in his attempt to escape.

The joy of the people over the coming of peace was turned to lamentation. The whole nation mourned over the death of the great leader, and there was remarkable demonstration of grief and affection as his body was borne from Washington to Springfield, Illinois, to be laid in its final resting place.

Immediately after the death of Lincoln, the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson,¹ was sworn into office as President.

Civil Government in the Seceded States. — With the surrender of General Lee, the Confederate government ceased, leaving the seceded states practically without any formal government. So far as public order was concerned, there was nothing to fear; the conduct of the people was as orderly as though all laws were in force. The wheels of civil government, however, were motionless.

A cursive autograph of the name "Andrew Johnson" in dark ink, with a long, sweeping underline.

THE AUTOGRAPH OF JOHNSON.

President Johnson acted quickly in the matter. He established courts, withdrew the blockading fleet, opened the ports for business, and provided for the collection of taxes. In order to establish working governments, he appointed a provisional governor in each state and provided for sessions of the legislatures.

In this matter the policy of the President was generally commended by the whole country. The administration of the laws passed by the provisional legislatures, however, was not always above criticism. In various instances vagrancy and pauper laws were put into effect, these being virtually aimed at the negro population. On the whole, laws of this sort were necessary. A large part of the former slave population had the notion that, having been freed, they were no longer required to labor for their bread and butter; most of them therefore became shiftless and idle, and a few became vicious and dangerous.

In many cases, however, the spirit of these laws was violated, and the negroes were put in a condition that was not a whit different from actual slavery. When this fact became known in the North, there was a feeling of resentment that was not fully warranted, because the violation of the spirit of the Thirteenth

¹ ANDREW JOHNSON (1808-1875) was born at Raleigh, North Carolina. He began life as a tailor, and made himself the leader of a working-man's party. His gifts of oratory were considerable. He rose rapidly; was elected to the Congress in 1843, and to the Senate in 1857. On the outbreak of the Civil War he took a vigorous Union attitude. With a view to conciliating the War Democrats, the Republicans nominated him to the vice-presidency. On Lincoln's assassination he became, by virtue of his office, the seventeenth President.

Amendment was not general. For this condition of affairs President Johnson was unjustly blamed.

The President and the Congress. 1865, 1866. — When the Congress met (December, 1865) much anger was exhibited, especially in the Senate. Charges that the President had exceeded his powers were freely made, and all that he had done for the Southern states was ignored. The Congress refused to recognize the senators and representatives who had been elected to represent the seceded states. A Civil Rights Bill giving to the freedmen the right to vote and to sue at law in the United States courts was passed (1866); also a Freedmen's Bureau Bill, which provided for the sale of government lands on easy terms. While these acts were under discussion, the President's course was sharply criticised in the Senate; the President vetoed the acts, but the Congress passed them over his veto.

**The Civil
Rights Bill**

By this time President Johnson had lost his temper and a good part of his judgment. He made a tour through the West, and in his public speeches he strongly denounced the Congress. Some members of the Congress likewise were undignified in their language. The estrangement of the President and the Congress soon became a matter of public concern, inasmuch as it was rapidly arousing anew the hostile feeling between the two sections of the country.

The Fourteenth Amendment. 1866–1868. — Lest the Civil Rights Bill should be repealed by a succeeding Congress, its principles were embodied (1866) in an amendment to the Constitution. The Congress made the approval and adoption of this amendment a condition of the readmission of seceded states into the Union. This Fourteenth Amendment received the necessary ratifications in 1868.

The Reconstruction Policy of the Congress. 1867. — In the meantime, the Congress had proceeded to carry out a different plan of reconstruction. Tennessee had already been readmitted, being the only seceded state at that time accepting the Fourteenth Amendment. The remaining ten states were grouped into five military districts, and a

**Military
government**

military governor was placed in charge of each district (1867). In order to be readmitted to the Union, each state was required —

To adopt a new state constitution that should guarantee to the freedmen full civil rights, including the right to vote.

To ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.

If the Congress approved the constitution adopted by the state, the latter might then be readmitted, and again become a member of the Federal Union. Six of the states — Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Alabama — carried out these provisions and were readmitted.

The Impeachment of President Johnson. 1868. — The quarrel between the President and the Congress was daily becoming more bitter. Some of the leaders in the Congress feared that the President might prevent the operation of the various acts of reconstruction by removing the officers responsible for their execution. So the **Tenure of Office Act**, forbidding the removal of a Federal officer by the President without the consent of the Senate, was passed.

During the second year of his term (August, 1867) President Johnson suspended the secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, and appointed General Grant in his place. This he had a perfect right to do. The Senate, however, would not approve the President's action, and ordered that Stanton be restored to the office. The President did not obey the order; on the contrary, he appointed General Lorenzo Thomas secretary of war, and directed him to seize the office. All this was a violation of the **Tenure of Office Act**; so the House impeached the President (February 24, 1868), and he was ordered to be tried before the Senate. At the conclusion of the trial, the Senate failed, by one vote, to find him guilty.

Carpet-bag Rule in the South. — The Congressional plan of reconstructing the Southern states had an effect that was never intended. The reconstruction acts gave to freedmen the right to vote and to hold office, and disfranchised those who prior to the war had held office and had afterwards supported the Confederacy. Moreover, every officer was required to take oath

that he had not aided in the struggle against the Union. As a result, nearly all the officers of the Southern state governments were either freedmen or else political adventurers, called carpet-baggers, who had gone into the Southern states after the close of the war. Under their rule the people fared about as badly as they did during the time of hostilities. The destruction of property had been one of the fortunes of war. During the period of reconstruction, the story of the course of events in the South is a history of pillage, theft, and corruption in office.



A DESERTED PLANTATION AFTER THE WAR.

Enormous sums were voted by the legislatures, only to be wasted or stolen. It was about ten years before the responsible people got possession of the reins of government again.

The Ku Klux Klan.—In the depth of their misery, some of the more hot-headed people of the South resorted to acts that were unwise and illegal. They organized secret societies for the purpose of frightening the freedmen away from the voting places at election time. It was the negro vote that elected the carpet-bagger to the legislatures; and by keeping the negro voter away from the polls, it was hoped that responsible men might be elected to fill the offices.

There were several societies of this character, one of which, the Ku Klux Klan, became widely known. At first it was a secret organization for social purposes, but in time it took a political character. As is often the case in such organizations, it finally became an agency for evil doing and private revenge. In many instances the members carried on their work with such brutality that their victims were murdered or crippled for life.

The Fifteenth Amendment. 1869. — In consequence of the interference with negro voting, the Congress passed the necessary legislation for the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, which was duly ratified by the necessary number of states. This amendment provided for the protection of voters; under its provisions the Force Act was passed, making it an offense to hinder or to intimidate a voter. For several years thereafter, Federal troops were stationed at the polls during the elections, when it was thought that such a measure was necessary.

Reconstruction Completed. — As the real condition of affairs in the South became known to the people of the country at large, there grew a feeling that some of the measures imposed upon the Southern people had been unnecessarily harsh. It was learned that the great mass of the people in the South were peaceful and law abiding, and that they were willing to do anything that would insure the possibility of earning their bread and butter in peace. Having been defeated in war, they intended that their loyalty to the Union should be beyond question. When this was appreciated throughout the country, the sentiment against harsh and coercive measures became very strong; it finally took shape in the organization of the Liberal Republicans. The organization lived long enough to change very materially the severity that had marked the treatment of the Southern people.

Proclamations pardoning certain of those who had borne arms against the Federal government had been issued on several occasions, each being more liberal than the one preceding. There still remained, however, a large number of Southerners who did not have full rights of citizenship. On Christmas Day, 1868, President Johnson granted a

The amnesty proclamation

general pardon to all those remaining.¹ It is certain that no Christmas gift ever granted was more appreciated than this.

In the meantime, the remaining four states — Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas — had complied with all necessary requirements, and were readmitted (1870) to the Union. This practically completed the work of reconstruction.

SUMMARY

The election of Abraham Lincoln was considered a menace to the expansion of slavery, and the secession of states from the Union began.

A confederacy of Southern states was organized, and the forts, navy yards, and arsenals of the United States were seized. The bombardment of Fort Sumter by the Confederates practically began the Civil War.

The plan of the Federal government for carrying on the war included :

Operations along the Potomac looking to the capture of Richmond, which were unsuccessful, chiefly because of the defeat of the Federal army at Bull Run.

Operations on the frontier of Kentucky, which resulted in the capture of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, and the battle of Shiloh. The line of the Federal troops advanced (1861-1862) to the northern border of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, involving the battles of Iuka, Corinth, Murfreesboro, and Pea Ridge.

Operations on the coast, which led to the capture of Port Royal Sound. The capture of New Orleans and the reduction of the forts near its mouth opened the lower Mississippi.

The Peninsular campaign under General McClellan, beginning in 1862, was organized for the purpose of capturing Richmond. At York peninsula, McClellan fought the battles of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, and Seven Pines, reaching a point within sight of Richmond. The Confederate Generals Lee and Jackson retaliated by a raid into Maryland, but were forced back.

General Lee invaded the north, but was defeated and driven back at the battle of Gettysburg by General Meade.

In the first seven months of 1863 the Mississippi River between Port Hudson and Vicksburg was opened by the capture of those two strongholds.

In the latter half of 1863 the Union lines were pushed south by the

¹ Jefferson Davis was then a prisoner, and was not included in the proclamation.

capture of Chattanooga and the destruction of General Johnson's army at Dalton.

The closing campaigns of the war (1864-1865) consisted of operations against Richmond from the north, and Sherman's march from Atlanta to a point south of Richmond.

The operations against Richmond involved the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg, in which General Grant pushed General Lee's army south to Petersburg. Early's raid through the Shenandoah was checked by General Sheridan.

In his march across Georgia General Sherman destroyed all available supplies between Atlanta and Savannah.

The capture of Richmond practically closed the war. General Lee surrendered at Appomattox.

The Federal naval work of the Civil War consisted of the blockading of the Southern ports, the destruction of blockade runners, and the operation of the flotilla of iron-clad gunboats on the Mississippi and Tennessee rivers.

The Confederate operations consisted mainly of the destruction of merchant ships by fast vessels built and armed mainly in Great Britain.

The most important naval encounter was the fight between the Confederate ironclad *Virginia* and the turret gunboat *Monitor*.

The money for carrying on the war for the Union was borrowed both at home and abroad by:—

The issue of about one billion dollars worth of bonds, the principal and interest of which was payable in gold; and

The various issues of greenbacks or paper money, to the amount of about \$575,000,000; and

An internal tax.

The financial operations of the war led to the establishment of national banks.

The congressional acts of reconstruction provided that the seceded states should remain under military control until they should adopt state constitutional amendments guaranteeing civil rights to the freed slaves, and should ratify the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

COLLATERAL READING

The Mississippi Valley in the Civil War—Fiske.

The American Conflict—Greeley.

Drumbeat of the Nation—Coffin. (For popular reading.)

Campaigns of the Civil War—Scribner.

CHAPTER XIX

POLITICAL EVENTS FROM 1860 TO 1900

Gold and Silver in the Rocky Mountains.—The discovery of new deposits of precious metals in 1858 and the few years following resulted in extensive emigration to the West. A part of the tide of emigrants went to the vicinity of Pikes Peak, Colorado. In two years the mining camp of Denver became a city of several thousand people; at the end of the century it had become one of



A COLORADO SILVER MINE.

the great centers of mining industry, and its existence was a factor in the demand for a transcontinental railway.

About the time of the Pikes Peak discoveries, the Comstock lode, a vein of ore rich in both silver and gold, was discovered in the western part of Nevada. Carson and Virginia City

sprang into existence, and in a very short time many mines were opened.

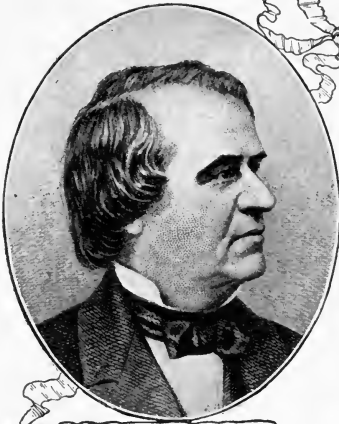
New States and Territories. — The western movement of population was increased by the discoveries of gold and silver, and there was much prospecting for these metals throughout the Rocky Mountains. With each new discovery there was a rush of miners. As a result Colorado became a territory in 1861; the territory of Dakota was formed in 1861; Idaho followed in 1863; Arizona was severed from New Mexico the same year; Montana was organized in 1864; Wyoming began its territorial history in 1868. In 1864 Nevada was admitted as the thirty-sixth state, three years after it had been organized as a territory. Nebraska, the thirty-seventh state, was admitted in 1867.

Napoleon III attempts to invade Mexico. 1864–1867. — The attempt of Napoleon III to extend French power to America was practically one of the events of the Civil War. In this war the French emperor saw his opportunity. Mexico owed considerable sums of money in Europe, and as she could not pay, Great Britain, Spain, and France sent troops to hold Mexican seaports until the debts were paid. Great Britain and Spain withdrew as soon as the claims were paid, but the French emperor attempted to destroy the Mexican republic. About 1864, Napoleon deposed the officers of the Mexican government and made Maximilian, a brother of the Austrian emperor, the sovereign of Mexico.

This act was clearly contrary to the Monroe Doctrine,¹ but during the Civil War the United States government could do nothing more than to protest. To the protests Napoleon paid no attention. At the close of the war, however, General Sheridan was dispatched to the Mexican frontier with 50,000 troops. The French troops were immediately withdrawn. Napoleon then performed the cowardly act of leaving Maximilian to his fate. The Mexicans promptly shot him and reestablished their republic.

The Purchase of Alaska. 1867. — By the efforts of Secretary of State William H. Seward, Alaska, or Russian America, was purchased from the Emperor of Russia for \$7,200,000. The terri-

¹ See page 248.



ANDREW JOHNSON



U. S. GRANT



R. B. HAYES



J. A. GARFIELD

tory had been a burden to Russia, but Seward had an enthusiastic belief in the future of Alaska. The purchase was considered a most profitable investment inasmuch as it included valuable fisheries and the largest fur-seal rookeries in the world.

Grant elected President. 1868. — In previous elections for President, a successful soldier had always proved a good candidate. Jackson, Harrison, and Taylor had become prominent as soldiers rather than as statesmen. General Grant was therefore considered by the Republicans the most available candidate for the election



THE AUTOGRAPH OF GRANT.

of 1868. Horatio Seymour of New York was nominated by the Democrats. There was no material difference between the two platforms

except that the Democratic platform was against giving away lands for public improvements. Grant and Colfax were elected, and were inaugurated, March 4, 1869.

The Rise of the Labor Reform Party. — During the campaign the labor element came to the front. Labor organizations were no new thing; this time, however, organized labor became a national matter and effected a national organization. National labor congresses held sessions in Louisville, Chicago, New York, and Cincinnati, and presented a ticket for the presidential election. The attitude of the labor congress in demanding the repeal of the national bank law and the issue of unlimited paper money cost the party many votes that otherwise it would have held. Two planks in the platform subsequently proved to be sound — the exclusion of Chinese coolies and laborers and the refusal of public land grants to corporations.

Indian Troubles. — The loose system of dealing with the tribes of Western Indians more than once has brought the United States into hostile relations with them. For the greater part, the corrupt practices of contractors and of white men who sought possession of Indian lands have caused these troubles. In 1873 the Modocs of Oregon killed several innocent white settlers, and resisted the troops sent to put them back upon their reservation. They fortified themselves in an inaccessible place, and treacherously killed

two of the commissioners who went there to confer with them. They were finally captured and sent to the Indian Territory.

The Sioux have always been troublesome. During the Civil War about sixty were hanged at Mankato, Minnesota, for the massacre of white settlers. In 1876 they refused to leave the Plains and go upon the reservation, where it had been found necessary to place them. In defiance, they intrenched themselves in the valley of Little

Custer's
fight

Big Horn River, Montana. General George A. Custer attempted to drive them from their position. He had two hundred and sixty-two men in his command. When the fight was finished, Custer and his two hundred and sixty-two men were dead on



THE SCENE OF GENERAL CUSTER'S FIGHT.

the field. The only survivors were Captain Keogh's horse and a cowardly Crow scout. The Indians were finally beaten.

The Chicago and Boston Fires. — Like most cities of very rapid growth, the city of Chicago was but little better than a tinder box at the end of its first fifty years. A fire broke out (October, 1871) in a part of the city that consisted of light, frame buildings. A strong wind spread the fire for two days, sweeping over five square miles, including the business part of the city. Although the loss was heavy, it proved a blessing. The burned district was again covered with substantial buildings almost like magic. A year later (November, 1872), the business section of Boston was destroyed by fire. Sixty acres of buildings were destroyed. Like the Chicago fire, it proved to be most beneficial in final results.

The Geneva Award. 1871. — At the close of the Civil War, the United States made a demand on Great Britain for damages inflicted by the Confederate cruisers built and armed in British waters.¹ The British government evaded the question for several years, but finally the two governments made a treaty at Washington (1871) agreeing to refer the matter to a board of five arbitrators. The Board of Arbitration met at Geneva, Switzerland. As a result, the United States was awarded the sum of \$15,500,000.

The Boundary and Fisheries Disputes. 1872, 1877. — For many years the boundary line between British Columbia and Washington Territory had been in dispute, and for some time both British and American troops had been in camp on very friendly terms at San Juan Island, in the straits of Juan de Fuca. The matter was referred to the Emperor of Germany (1872), who awarded the islands in dispute to the United States.

A few years later (1877), during Grant's second term, a dispute over certain privileges of the Canadian fishing waters was submitted to arbitration. In this case it was shown that the Americans were the aggressors, and the United States paid \$5,500,000 damages.

The Reëlection of Grant. 1872. — The management of affairs in the South caused the organization of the Liberal Republican party.² The regular party nominated General Grant and Henry Wilson; the Liberal Republicans chose Horace Greeley as their candidate. The Democrats endorsed Greeley and the two parties compromised by uniting on B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President. Subsequently, the dissatisfied elements of both Liberal Republicans and Democrats nominated presidential candidates. The Prohibitionists also nominated candidates. Grant was reëlected by a heavy vote.

Four Years of Corrupt Politics. — When a political party is in power any length of time, officials are apt to use their positions to secure money and other advantages unfairly. Such was the case in Grant's administration; many corrupt officials brought about shameful scandals. Those that came within reach of the Presi-

¹ See page 337.

² See page 352.

dent's hand were exposed and so far as possible the culprits were punished. Public displeasure was aroused to the extent that the Democrats obtained a majority in the House of Representatives.

The Election of 1876; the Tilden-Hayes Episode.—As a result there were several parties in the field during the campaign of 1876. The Prohibition party showed a considerable strength, and people who were dissatisfied with financial measures formed the Greenback party. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks. There was dissension among the Republicans; the convention was held in Cincinnati, and after many fruitless ballots had been cast, Rutherford B. Hayes¹ of Ohio and William A. Wheeler of New York were nominated.

When election day came, Tilden received a much larger popular vote than either of the other candidates. The electoral vote, however, was a different matter. One hundred and eighty-five votes were required to elect a candidate, and the Democrats could count with certainty on only one hundred and eighty-four. In Oregon, Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina the electoral vote was in doubt and each party claimed the electors.

This was a difficulty that had never been contemplated, and no one had thought that it would ever occur. The Congress passed an act referring the matter to a joint Electoral Commission of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court. The Congress named two Republican and two Democratic justices; the fifth justice was to be chosen by these four, and they chose a Republican. The joint commission, which then consisted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, declared Hayes to be elected.

R. B. Hayes.

THE AUTOGRAPH OF HAYES.

The Policy of Conciliation in the South.—President Hayes be-

¹ RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (1822-1893) was born in Delaware, Ohio. He was a graduate of the Harvard Law School. By means of his ability and industry he soon established an excellent practice. He fought in the Civil War on the Union side, and was brevetted major-general of volunteers. After the conclusion of the war he served as member of the Congress, and twice as governor of Ohio. In 1877 he became the nineteenth President. He was much interested in educational work and prison reform; in prison government many of his remarks have become maxims.

lieved that the measures imposed upon the South had been unnecessarily harsh. During his administration the Federal troops that had upheld carpet-bag rule in several Southern states—notably in Louisiana and South Carolina—were withdrawn. Responsible officers were at once put in charge of public affairs in these states.

Colorado Admitted. 1876.—Colorado, the thirty-eighth state, was admitted to statehood just one hundred years after the Declaration of Independence. It is therefore the “Centennial State.”

The Railroad Strike at Pittsburg. 1877.—Strikes among workmen for the purpose of bettering their condition have taken place ever since workingmen have had organizations. In the United States, railway employees form a group notable for intelligence, courage, and efficiency. Although organization was common among workingmen, the railway men were about the first in the country to form themselves into closely organized brotherhoods that could be relied upon to act as a unit.

In 1877 the employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Pittsburg declared a strike in order to compel the management to redress certain alleged grievances. The strike extended to other divisions of the railway and then to other railways. Unfortunately, there were serious riots along the lines of the various railways. In Pittsburg it was necessary to call upon the troops to restore order. Property to the value of many millions of dollars was destroyed.

Financial Affairs.—During Grant’s administration, the Congress had made gold the standard money of the country (1873).¹ In 1878 the Bland-Allison Bill made both silver and gold basic money—in other words, acceptable for all debts. In 1879 the government accepted greenbacks at face value, paying gold for them on demand. This made the greenbacks equal in value to gold.

The Election of Garfield and Arthur. 1880.—An unsuccessful effort was made to nominate General Grant for a third term, in spite of traditions to the contrary. The Republicans finally nomi-

¹ See page 384.

nated James A. Garfield¹ of Ohio and Chester A. Arthur of New York. The Democrats nominated Winfield S. Hancock, a gallant soldier; and the Labor and Greenback parties combined with James B. Weaver at the head of the ticket. Garfield was elected.



THE AUTOGRAPH OF GARFIELD.

The Murder of Garfield. 1881.—

President Garfield had been in office about four months, when he was shot down by a disappointed office seeker. He lingered until September and then died. Vice-President Arthur² was immediately sworn in as President.

Civil Service Reform.—The murder of Garfield was a result of the most disgraceful system of distributing public offices among a rabble of political “heelers.” Under the long-continued spoils system,³ the administration of public business had been conducted bunglingly and inefficiently. The fitness of an official was rarely considered. The only question



THE AUTOGRAPH OF ARTHUR.

¹ JAMES A. GARFIELD (1831–1881) was born at Orange, Ohio. He grew up amid hardships in a log-cabin home in the Ohio wilderness. His schooling was incidental, but, like Lincoln, he educated himself by a persistent course of reading. He graduated from Williams College, Massachusetts. He was elected president of Hiram College, Ohio, where he gained recognition as an able educator. He served with distinction in the Civil War. He was elected a member of the Congress, and later United States senator. In 1881 he became the twentieth President. He was shot by Charles J. Giteau, July 2, 1881, and died in the following September.

² CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR (1830–1886) was a native of Fairfield, Vermont. He graduated from Union College in 1848. He began to practice law in New York, and won reputation by his arguments in behalf of the negroes. In 1862 he was made inspector-general and quartermaster-general of the New York troops. In 1871 President Grant appointed him collector of the port of New York. In 1880 he was elected Vice-President, and, on the death of Garfield, succeeded to the post of President. His attitude during his administration was admirable for its fairmindedness and independence.

³ See page 260.

would be: Is he a Democrat? or, Is he a Republican? When Democrats came into power, they were apt to put every Republican out and fill the offices with Democrats, and the Republicans in turn did the same. To business men such a system seemed outrageous.

In 1883 Civil Service laws were enacted. These laws require that candidates for certain classes of official positions must be selected by competitive examination. Under the laws an official cannot be removed from office for political reasons, nor are political leaders permitted to demand money from officers for political purposes. President Arthur gave the civil service laws his support, and his successors have done likewise. Many of the states and cities have adopted similar regulations.

Competitive examinations selected by competitive examination. Under the laws an official cannot be removed from office for political reasons, nor are political leaders permitted to demand money from officers for political purposes. President Arthur gave the civil service laws his support, and his successors have done likewise. Many of the states and cities have adopted similar regulations.

Letter Postage Reduced. — Up to 1816 the postage on a letter consisting of a single sheet of paper varied from eight to twenty-five cents, according to the distance of the locality to which it was sent. In 1816 the rates of postage were reduced about one fifth. In 1851 the postage on a letter was reduced to three cents per half ounce for all distances less than three thousand miles. In 1863 it became three cents for all domestic letters without respect to distance. In 1872 postal cards were authorized, and in 1883 the postage on domestic letters was fixed at two cents. The United States is a member of the International Postal Union; among the states of this Union the postage rate of foreign letters is not more than five cents.

Cleveland elected President; the Democrats in Power. 1884. — During Arthur's administration there had been an effort to reform the abuses that had caused widespread complaint. The manner of doing this had caused dissensions in the Republican party, and as a result Arthur was not nominated for a second term. This angered a great many Republicans. James G. Blaine of Maine was put at the head of the ticket. In a long and honorable political career Blaine had made many bitter enemies, and the strength of the party in this election was therefore greatly impaired. Grover Cleveland,¹ the governor of New

¹ GROVER CLEVELAND was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, in 1837. He began the practice of law in Buffalo, New York. After holding many local offices, he

York, was the candidate of the Democrats. He was elected, and the Democratic party came into the control of the country after a lapse of twenty-four years.

The Presidential Succession. — One of the first acts of the

THE AUTOGRAPH OF CLEVELAND.

new administration was a series of measures to prevent a repetition of the Hayes-Tilden episode. A Presidential Succession Act (1886) provided that, in the event of a vacancy in the office of both President and Vice-President, the office of President should devolve in order upon the secretary of state, the secretary of the treasury, the secretary of war, the attorney-general, the postmaster general, the secretary of the navy, the secretary of the interior. The place of the Vice-President is filled by the president *pro tem* of the Senate. The Electoral Count Act (1887) provides for such details of counting the electoral votes as are not named in the Constitution.

Rebuilding the Navy. — At the close of the Civil War the navy of the United States was the strongest afloat. Twenty years later it consisted of a few rusted monitors and several half-rotten wooden steam vessels; it was the laughingstock of the world. There was no question of the personnel of the navy, however; it was without superior, thanks to an efficient naval academy. Under Secretary of the Navy William C. Whitney, the beginning of a new navy was effected during Cleveland's administration. A dispatch boat and two steel cruisers formed the beginning of a fleet that, at the close of the century, consisted of about three hundred vessels, some of the battleships being the most powerful in existence.

The Chicago Riots. 1886. — During a railway strike, of which Chicago was the center, an organized body of anarchists came to the front, and made a great deal of trouble. When the police attempted to scatter a gang at Haymarket Square, Chicago, the latter retaliated by throwing a bomb among the police, killing

became governor of New York in 1883. The next year he was made President. He served a second term as President, from 1893-1897. He is a man of great personal popularity, and even in his retirement is an influence and power.

seven and wounding a large number. The leaders of the gang were convicted and hanged.

Harrison elected President. 1888.—During Cleveland's first term, there was not a little agitation over the tariff. As a rule, the Democrats have favored a low tariff, while the Republicans have stood for a protective tariff. It was feared that, if the Democrats were in power another term, the tariff would be lowered, to the injury of the country's manufactures. Cleveland



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THE BATTLESHIP ILLINOIS, U.S.N.

was nominated by the Democrats for a second term; Benjamin Harrison¹ of Indiana, a grandson of General William Henry Harrison, was the Republican candidate. Harrison was elected.

New States Admitted.—During Harrison's administration the Union of states was materially strengthened, and six new stars

¹ BENJAMIN HARRISON (1833–1901) was a native of North Bend, Ohio, and was a graduate of Miami University. He began the practice of law in Indianapolis, and early won recognition as an able lawyer. In the Civil War he commanded an Indiana regiment; he distinguished himself by his gallant conduct in the Atlanta campaign, and was brevetted brigadier-general. He was elected to the United States Senate from Indiana, and, in 1889, became President. After serving his term as President, he filled many positions of international distinction.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR



GROVER CLEVELAND



BENJ. HARRISON



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

were added to the field of the national flag. In 1889 Dakota Territory was divided; and North Dakota and South Dakota became the thirty-ninth and fortieth states. Montana, the forty-first, and Washington, the forty-second, were admitted in that year; Idaho, the forty-third, and Wyoming, the forty-fourth, were added in the following year. Oklahoma was set off from the Indian Territory, and made a territory by itself in 1889.



THE AUTOGRAPH OF HARRISON.

Tariff Revision. 1890. — The tariff revision of 1890, commonly known as the McKinley tariff, raised the average of duties on imported goods materially. It also provided a scheme of reciprocity; that is, it offered a nominal tariff or the free entry of certain goods from nations which might make a similar concession to the United States. In some instances the McKinley tariff proved prohibitive; that is, certain goods could not be imported at all, because the increased tariff made the price so high that the goods could not be sold.

The McKin-
ley tariff

Financial Matters. — The Sherman Act, providing for the purchase of four and one half million ounces of silver each month, was an important incident of Harrison's administration.¹

The Sher-
man Act

Pension Increase. — The United States has always been liberal to the soldiers who fought to preserve the Union. The pension list of the Civil War was a large one, and no patriotic citizen objected. In 1890 it was increased to include all soldiers unable to earn their living. At the close of the century there were nearly one million pensioners, drawing an aggregate of \$140,000,000 annually.

Cleveland's Second Election. 1892. — It was generally felt that the McKinley tariff was unnecessarily high; it was also discovered that the tariff did not produce the revenue expected because certain lines of goods were not imported at all. The campaign of 1892, therefore, centered upon the question of the tariff. President Harrison was nominated for a second term, and so was former President Cleveland. At the election Cleveland received nearly

¹ See page 385.

twice as many votes as his chief competitor. A new organization, the People's party, carried several Western states.

The Columbian Exposition. 1893.—The four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America was celebrated by a great exposition held in the city of Chicago. The dedication took place in October, 1892; the fair was formally opened in May of the following year. It was an exposition of the world's progress,



THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

and nearly every nation was represented. Twenty million people attended it.

The Extra Session of Congress. 1893.—An extra session of the Congress was convoked by President Cleveland (August, 1893) in order to take action on the low price to which silver had fallen. The Congress repealed the Sherman Act, which had required the Treasury to buy four and one half million ounces of silver each month.

Tariff Revision. 1894.—The Congress amended the tariff, in 1894, by an act known as the Wilson Bill. The reduction was

not great, but it brought about a fear that there might be further reductions. Capitalists are slow to invest in new enterprises when any change in the tariff laws is likely to be made. The frequent changes at this time had tended to prevent investment, and business stagnation resulted.

Labor Troubles. 1894.—In 1894 the employees of the Pullman Car Company at Chicago quit work on account of a grievance which the company declined to satisfy. The various railway unions with which the Pullman Company employees were affiliated also struck in sympathy. It proved to be one of the greatest strikes in history. Almost all railways in the country were tied up. Property to the value of several millions of dollars was destroyed by rioters, and the transmission of the mails was delayed.

In this state of affairs President Cleveland ordered Federal troops to the scene of trouble. The governor of Illinois objected strongly, but President Cleveland pointed out the fact that it was his sworn duty to see that the handling of the mails should not be delayed. The strike leaders were enjoined by the courts from interfering with the mails. Some of them disobeyed the injunction and they were therefore punished. This broke the strike; it was declared to be "government by injunction," but it was nevertheless effective.

Foreign Complications.—In 1893 the queen of the Hawaiian Kingdom was deposed by revolutionists. The revolutionary government desired the annexation of the islands by Hawaii the United States, and the American flag was raised over a public building in Honolulu. When President Cleveland learned that the revolutionists had been aided by American officers, he disavowed the act.

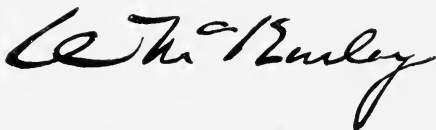
The Monroe Doctrine became a live issue again in 1895. A dispute over the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana seemed likely to result in the loss of a considerable part of Venezuelan territory. President Cleveland protested against the act of Great Britain, and the latter agreed to submit the matter to arbitration, with the result that Venezuela saved the greater part of the territory in dispute.

McKinley elected President. 1896. — A foreign critic once declared that a presidential election in the United States costs as much as the support of the royal family in Great Britain. This is not far from the truth; but the presidential election in the United States usually has been a campaign of education, and the election of 1892 was worth the money it cost from an educational standpoint.

It was a foregone conclusion that the silver question would be the chief issue. The Democrats met in convention at Chicago and nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska. The chief plank in the platform declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio which made sixteen ounces of silver equal in coin value to one ounce of gold. Another plank made contracts that had been drawn on a gold basis, payable in silver.

The free-silver issue

The People's party also nominated Bryan. There were many Democrats who favored a gold standard; they nominated John



THE AUTOGRAPH OF MCKINLEY.

M. Palmer of Illinois. The Republicans nominated William McKinley¹ of Ohio. The Republican platform was for sound money — practically for gold as a standard. McKinley was elected.

Chinese Exclusion. — Chinese coolies were brought to the United States in order to build the Pacific railways. They were imported under contracts with the various "tongs" or companies, and were in a condition of servitude almost precisely like that of the redemptioners brought to the United States two hundred years before. They were hired for less than half the wages paid to white laborers; nevertheless they were orderly and serviceable.

¹ WILLIAM MCKINLEY (1843-1901) was a native of Trumbull County, Ohio. He was educated at Union Seminary, Ohio, and Allegheny College, Pennsylvania. He enlisted in the Civil War and attained the rank of major. He was elected member of the Congress, and was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the House, 1889-1891. In this latter capacity he introduced the famous McKinley Tariff Bill. He served two terms as governor of Ohio. In 1896 he was elected President, and was reelected in 1900. On September 6, 1901, while holding a reception at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, he was shot by an anarchist; he died September 14. He was of a gentle, dignified, and strong character, and his death caused universal sorrow.

Within a few years after the completion of the railways, about seventy-five thousand emigrated from China, and settled mainly in California. There they monopolized the greater part of the field of day labor, being employed in the mines, in most of the manufacturing establishments, in the laundries, and as house servants. They made faithful and efficient laborers, and that is about all that could be said in their favor. After a score of years they were still aliens, both in heart and in their ways of living. There was no home life among them; they lived under conditions that were degrading, disregarding all laws except those imposed by the companies that owned them. They did not "Americanize," and they had no loyalty to the government. Even their earnings were sent to China.

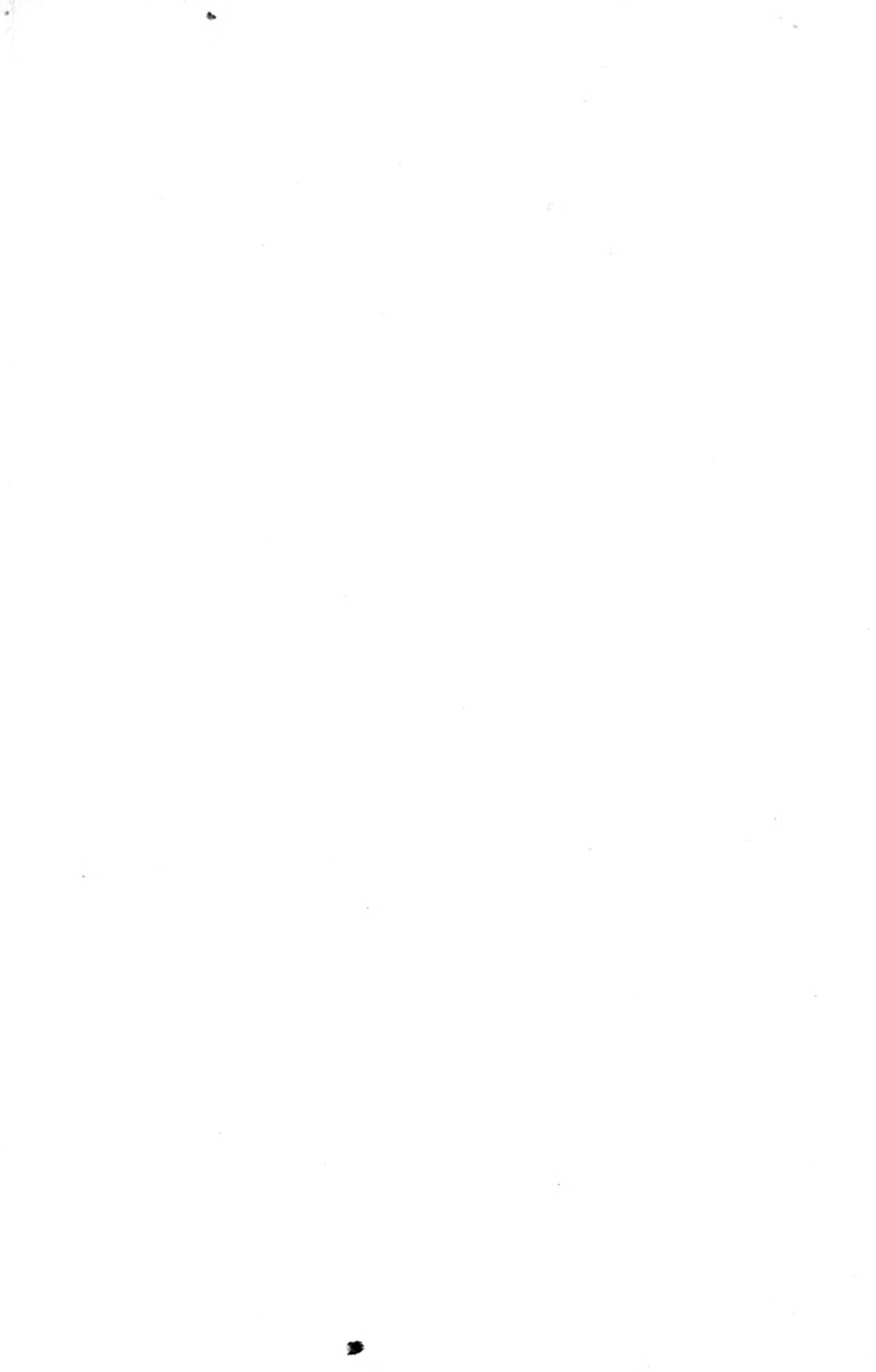
In the seventies there began an agitation that led to the exclusion of Chinese coolies. An act of the Congress (1882) forbade

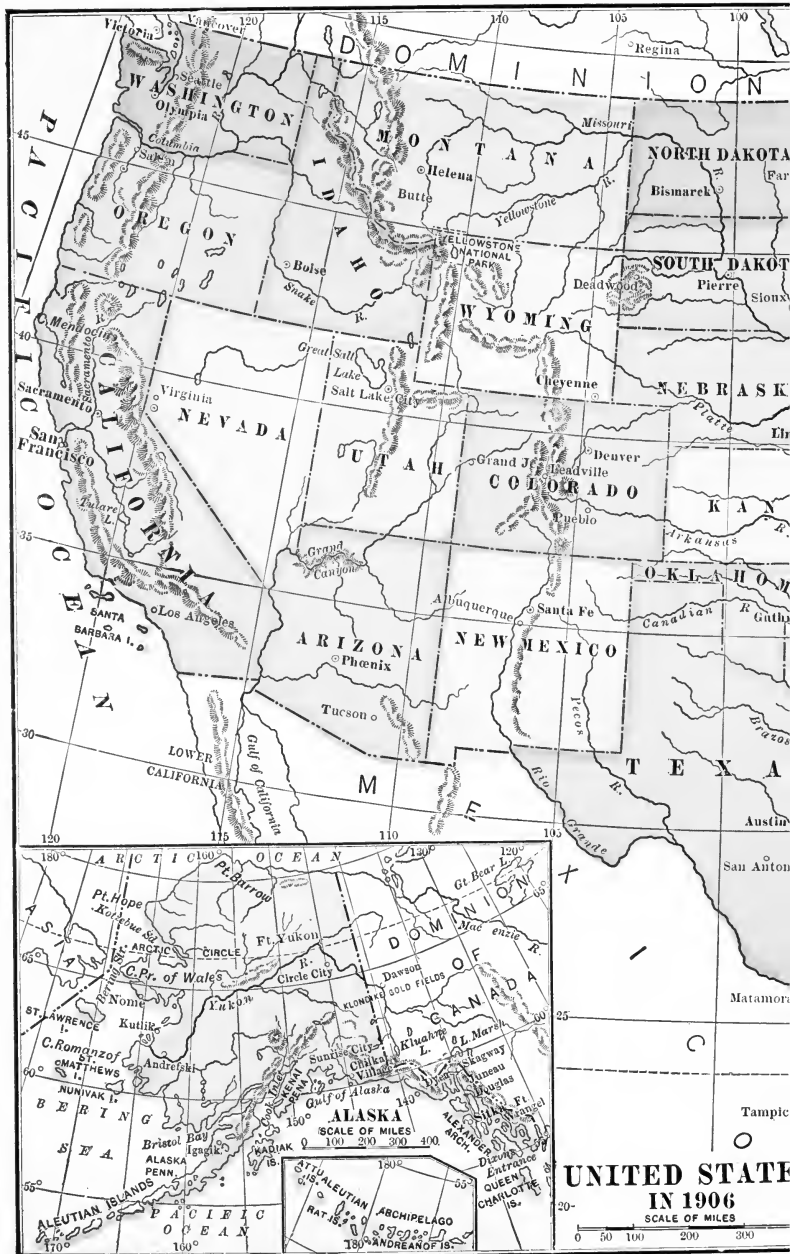
The Chinese in California Chinese laborers from entering the country for a period of ten years; it was renewed in 1892 and again in 1902.

Exclusion bills The act also forbade their going to the island possessions of the United States. The administration of the law, in many instances, has not been creditable to our country.

The Uprising in China. — For a number of years there was growing in China a sentiment against foreign intrusion. This resulted largely from the conduct of the foreigners themselves. The Chinese had no competent army and navy. However disgraceful, it is not far from correct to say that the Chinese had no rights that foreign nations felt bound to respect. A war between China and Japan had half awakened a long-dormant warlike feeling among the Chinese, and the fact that several European states had forced China to cede or lease Chinese territory to them gradually brought about a very ugly feeling toward foreigners.

In 1900 a secret society — the name, loosely translated, means "boxers" — was organized for the purpose of expelling foreigners. The Empress dowager secretly encouraged the society, and the foreign legations were attacked. Japan, the United States, and the European powers sent troops to rescue their embassies. Peking was entered, the uprising was quelled, and the people of the embassies were rescued.







SUMMARY

The discovery of gold and silver in the Western highlands caused an emigration from the East to that section. The organization of several states and territories resulted.

During Grant's two terms, the Modoc and the Sioux Indians, who had gone on the warpath, were subdued. Chicago and Boston were nearly destroyed by fire. The Geneva Board of Arbitration awarded \$15,500,000 to the United States for damages done by Confederate cruisers built or armed in British ports. The boundary between Washington Territory and British Columbia was settled. The United States paid Canada \$5,500,000 damages claimed in the fisheries dispute.

The election of Hayes was decided by a Joint Electoral Commission, the regular electoral vote being in doubt. Conciliatory measures were made the policy of the administration in the South. Silver was demonetized, and gold was made the standard.

President Garfield was murdered, and Vice-President Arthur became President. Civil service laws were enacted.

In Cleveland's first administration the rebuilding of the navy began. The presidential succession was established.

In Harrison's administration North and South Dakota, Montana, Washington, and Idaho were admitted as states. The McKinley Tariff Act and the Sherman Silver Act were passed. Pensions to veterans of the Civil War were increased. The Columbian Exposition was held.

In Cleveland's second term the Sherman Silver Act was repealed. The tariff was lowered by the Wilson Bill. A boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain became the subject of arbitration, at the demand of the United States. The President made an attempt to restore the queen of the Hawaiian Kingdom to her throne, United States officials having been concerned in deposing her.

By McKinley's election the effort to establish free silver coinage was defeated. It became necessary to send troops to China in order to rescue the members of the foreign legations.

COLLATERAL READING

Last Quarter of a Century — Andrews.

Noted Men of the Solid South — Herbert.

The United States — Shaler.

CHAPTER XX

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Industrial Resources.—With the peace that ended the Civil War came the beginning of an industrial epoch which probably has never been equaled. The people had begun to recognize the existence of several great industrial regions. The New England plateau and the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains afforded water power for light manufactures. From Portland to Savannah on the Atlantic coast, as well as on the Gulf coast, were splendid harbors. In the mountain regions was stored the coal that could be used in making the iron and steel required in railroad building. The South had long been the world's chief source of cotton. The prairie region west of the Appalachian Mountains had been shown to be not only one of the largest, but also one of the most fertile regions in the production of food-stuffs.

Industrial Needs.—These great industrial regions lacked one very necessary thing. To be effective, they must be joined by a better system of railway service than had yet existed. Without the means of transporting their products to the various markets of the world they had but little value. Provision must be made for—

The rapid and prompt movement of crops from the farms to Eastern markets and the Atlantic seaboard.

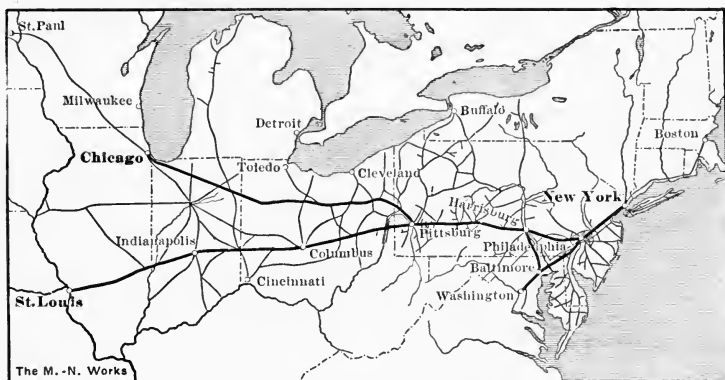
The shipment of the surplus food-stuffs and cotton to Europe and to other foreign markets.

The importation of such foreign and domestic articles as could not be economically made in the Southern and Western states.

The first of these provisions was essential in developing the agricultural resources of the West and the South. The second was

needed to stimulate foreign commerce. The third would insure return cargoes to both the railway and the ocean-carrying companies and make lower rates of traffic.

In part these industrial needs had been met before the Civil War, but it had not been economically done. It could not be thoroughly done while all the energies of the country were bent on the settlement of the internal troubles.



A TRUNK RAILWAY LINE.

Connecting Industrial Centers. — After the Civil War was over, the first thing to adjust in industrial matters was the question of railway transportation. Like the English and the French railways, those in America were originally built for local traffic; the making of trunk lines, or long lines connecting industrial centers, was no part of the design of the builders. As late as 1843, twenty-five hours of traveling with four changes of cars was the fate of a passenger from Albany to Buffalo, and he paid \$11 in fares for the journey.

Trunk railway lines

One of the first steps toward the consolidation of short local railways into trunk lines was accomplished by Cornelius Vanderbilt. Most of the short lines of New York were hopelessly in debt; some of them were bankrupt. Vanderbilt purchased them, one after another. He first obtained possession of the short lines north of New York City; these he organized into the New York

and Hudson River Railroad. Then he acquired the lines between Albany and Buffalo, which he consolidated into the New York Central Railroad. Finally, he combined the two, and created practically the first trunk line in America.

The value and necessity of trunk lines soon became apparent, and most of the existing lines were thus organized by 1870. It was also apparent that "through traffic" and not local business between stations was the chief carrying business of the trunk lines, owing to the fact that the two great markets of the country lay — one in the Mississippi Valley and the other in the manufacturing centers of the United States and in Europe.¹ After 1865, about the only local lines of railway constructed were the branches and feeders necessary to receive and distribute the traffic of the trunk lines. The existing lines were adjusted and the new lines were built so that the branches and feeders converged at such commercial centers as Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Minneapolis, and St. Paul; the trunk lines then took the traffic to the Atlantic seaboard.²

Improvements in Railway Construction. — Within a very few years after the Civil War, there was a heavy emigration westward, and the amount of produce grown on the farms had reached such enormous proportions that the existing railways could not begin to handle the freight delivered to them. At that time a locomotive could draw scarcely more than thirty or forty loaded cars on a level; it could not pull them up an ordinary grade without the help of a pusher. More cars could not be put on a freight train unless the locomotive was heavier, and a heavier locomotive would quickly destroy the rails.

¹ A disregard for terminals in the great centers of population was shown in the building of the Erie Railroad. Its western terminus was not at Buffalo, but at Dunkirk. Its eastern traffic stopped not at New York City, but at a pier on the Hudson River about twenty miles from the city. The projectors of the road had not learned that commerce cannot be forced away from natural centers of production and distribution. It is a fundamental law of railroad science that one series of terminals shall be in producing regions, the other at distributing markets.

² Most of the western railroads entering Chicago extend to at least two or three of the places named above. Practically every one has a dozen or more terminals in the various food-producing regions. Eastern roads seek, in addition, a good harbor and an entrance to the coal fields.

There was but one thing to do; namely, to make the rails of steel; but inasmuch as steel made by the ordinary process was worth from ten to twenty cents a pound, the question was a serious one. In 1859, however, Sir Henry Bessemer had perfected a process by which steel could be made at a much lower cost, scarcely more than that of casting iron. It was at once decided to use this process for the making of rails. The first steel rails were rolled in Chicago in 1865, and they immediately began to supersede iron rails.

**Bessemer
steel**

With steel rails it was perfectly safe to increase the weight of the locomotive from twenty-five to fifty tons or more. Bessemer steel was also employed in the construction of the locomotive boiler, which could thus be made to carry steam at two or three times as great pressure. A good locomotive could not only haul twice as many cars,¹ but it could haul them twice as fast. Bessemer steel, therefore, more than doubled the carrying power of the railways.

With the increased weight and speed of the railway trains, the hand brake was no longer a safe device with which to control the trains. In 1869, George Westinghouse invented a brake that was operated directly from the engine by means of compressed air. The air brake was first applied to passenger trains; by its use not only could the speed of the train be safely increased, but trains could be run at a high speed with close intervals between them. Its application to freight cars is now compulsory.

**The West-
inghouse
brake**

An Epoch of Railway Building. — Even before the Civil War it had been demonstrated that grain-farming would not pay if the farmer was compelled to haul his grain more than twelve or fifteen miles to the place of shipment. All through the states of the Middle West there was an abundance of good land that needed only transportation facilities to make it productive. Railway promoters were not slow to take advantage of this. In the twenty years between 1850 and 1870 about forty-four thousand miles of railway were built and put into operation. The money for the work of

¹ A modern freight locomotive on the New York Central Railway draws a load of ninety or more box cars, each carrying sixty-six thousand pounds.

construction was obtained from two sources: it was borrowed in Europe,¹ and it was raised from the sale of the public lands which the government gave for the purpose.

Transcontinental Railways. — At the time of the Civil War



WHERE THE RAILROAD PENETRATES THE
ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

both parts of the country were desirous of a railway to the Pacific coast. About 1862 charters were issued to two companies — the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific. The former built from Omaha westward; the latter from Sacramento eastward to the point where the two lines met. Each road received a loan from the government varying from \$16,000 to \$48,000 per mile. The government also gave the railroad companies public lands, consisting of the odd-numbered sections in a strip of land twenty

miles in width, along the entire route of the railway. The road was completed in 1869.²

¹ To borrow the money in European markets was not a difficult matter. In Europe the interest on large sums was rarely more than three per cent; invested in secured railway bonds in the United States it commanded from four to six per cent. A few of these railways were good investments from the first; some barely earned their operating expenses and interest for many years. Some were hopelessly insolvent from the first. The most of them did not pay dividends until they had built up and peopled the territory through which they extended.

² In building the road the companies let out the contract for construction to themselves, operating under a different charter, known as the *Credit Mobilier*. The scandals connected with the latter company were such that public sentiment set strongly against granting either lands or subsidies to railways thereafter built.

Neither railway paid the interest or principal of the moneys advanced by the government until forced by the Congress to do so. The Union Pacific did not pay its indebtedness until 1897; in 1899, the Central Pacific gave its promissory notes in settlement. The entire indebtedness of the two roads to the government amounted, principal and interest, to about \$59,000,000.¹

In the course of twenty years other transcontinental railways were built, and at the end of the century several others were under way. All of them seemed warranted by the amount of transcontinental business. One road, the Great Northern, has a history that is unique among transcontinental railways. It did not receive from the government a single acre of land or a dollar of subsidy, and it paid from the start. Mr. James J. Hill, the builder of the road, constructed it for the purpose of carrying lumber from Puget Sound to the Eastern markets. In order to get a return business, he invaded the markets of the Orient, carrying American cotton to Japan and American wheat to China. He not only built the road, but he also created the business for it. His success in these ventures constitutes one of the greatest achievements in the history of American commerce.

The Great
Northern

Public Land Grants to Railways.—The first large grant in aid

The scandals did not cease with the completion of the roads; indeed, they did not cease until the roads had passed into the hands of different owners, nearly thirty years afterward. In one instance, the Southern Pacific Railway, a company operated by the Central Pacific, failed to build the road through a certain region in California for which the lands had been granted. The grant was thought to be forfeited, and settlers took possession of the place as vacant government lands. After the settlers had lived on them many years, and the ranches had acquired great value because of the extensive irrigating ditches and other improvements, the railway company claimed the lands and evicted the occupants. During the struggle a pitched battle between the United States marshals and the settlers resulted in the killing of a dozen or more men.

In the action between the railway company and the settlers, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the lands could become forfeited only by an act of the Congress. Such an act had not been passed, and this decision defeated the settlers. Some of the ranchmen destroyed their property to prevent its falling into the possession of the railway company.

¹ Long before this, the Central Pacific had used its surplus earnings to build, under another charter, the Southern Pacific Railway.

of railway building was made to the Illinois Central Railroad. To the company was given the right of way through the public lands and also the alternate sections of a strip twelve miles wide, through which the road was built. The price of the remaining government lands was increased from \$1.25 to \$2.50 per acre. The same plan was followed in the case of almost all the lands subsequently granted to railway companies. At the close of the century, the public lands given as subsidies aggregated about ninety-eight millions of acres—an area more than three times that of New York State. The remaining public domain of the United States consists mainly of arid and mountain lands, of little value without the construction of irrigation systems.

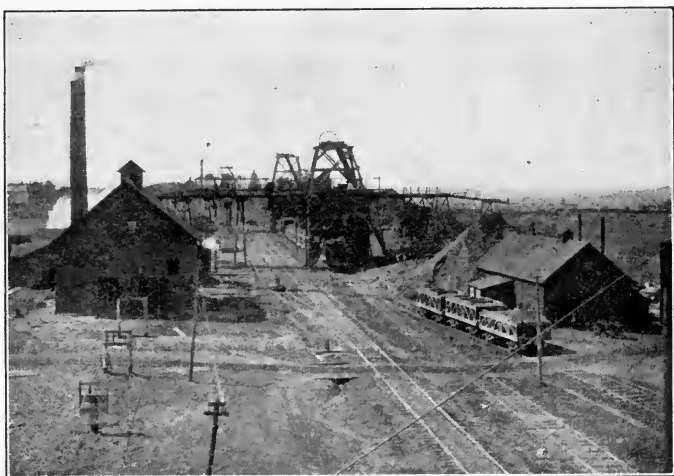
The Growth of the Steel-making Industry. — The manufacture of iron had been an industry of the country for more than a century before the Civil War, but at its best, it was one of minor importance. By the middle of the seventeenth century there were a score or more of smelteries and blast furnaces in the New England colonies,¹ and several also in the Middle and Southern colonies. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the famous mines on Lake Champlain, New York, were opened. In this region and northern New Jersey there came to be about two hundred furnaces and forges. Just before the War of the Revolution, about six thousand tons of iron were exported yearly to the West Indies. In 1810 the output of the entire country was a little more than fifty thousand tons of pig iron and nine hundred tons of steel. At the close of the century, the production of steel alone was more than ten millions of tons.

The use of steel rails created a tremendous demand for Bessemer steel. The iron ores of the Appalachian ranges were not suitable for the manufacture of steel, but those of the ranges on the south shore of Lake Superior proved to be very fine ores for that purpose. Moreover, the Lake Superior ore could be mined and transported more cheaply than could the ores in the

¹ One of these furnaces was established at Scituate, Massachusetts, by Mordecai Lincoln, an ancestor of Abraham Lincoln. The father of George Washington also owned one. In 1792 a small blast furnace was built at Two-mile Run, within the limits of the city of Pittsburgh, but it was abandoned for want of ore.

central part of Pennsylvania. Because of these mines the United States has become the greatest steel-making country in the world.

Textile Manufactures developed in the South.—The growth of cotton textile manufacture in the South was one of the readjustments that were bound to come about in the course of time. The building of railways, together with the possibilities of good water power and cheap fuel, had much to do with bringing the result about. The fact that it was very poor economy to send cotton a thousand miles away to be manufactured into cloth resulted in



SHIPPING IRON ORE FROM THE LAKE SUPERIOR MINES.

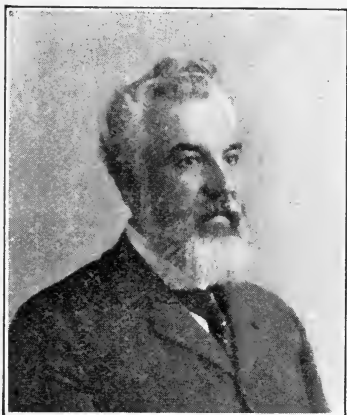
the building of many hundred mills in the South, as soon as the problems of transportation and fuel were solved. In the amount of cloth made, the output of the Southern mills was not far behind that of the New England mills at the close of the nineteenth century.

Electrical Inventions.—With the exception of its use in the telegraph and occasionally in medicine, electricity had not been used in the various arts and sciences before 1870. Up to that time there were but two sorts of generators of the electric current—the frictional machine and the galvanic battery. The former

was nothing more than a toy; the latter was confined to telegraphy and medicine.

Early in the seventies several inventors set themselves to the task of inventing an electric generator which should produce a current strong enough to operate machinery.¹ This they succeeded in doing, and the successful machine is the universally used dynamo. The applications of a generator of this sort proved to be almost endless. The first use

Electric
motors



ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL.

to which it was put was the electric arc light. Shortly afterward it was found that a modified form of the dynamo might be used as an independent motor that could be attached to almost any kind of machinery. As a result, street cars driven by electricity immediately began to take the place of horse cars.

The telephone came into use early in the seventies. Successful telephones had been constructed by Elisha Gray and Professor A. E. Dolbear of Tufts College. The apparatus patented

by Alexander Graham Bell, however, superseded all others. The telephone quickly became a necessity in business; its use has extended to all parts of the world, civilized and uncivilized.

The tele-
phone

The Great Financial Crash. 1873. — European financiers have always claimed that the management of financial affairs in the United States is not wholly safe, and the charge is probably true.

¹ Applying certain principles brought to notice by Gramme and by Siemens, Mr. George F. Brush built a generator in which bobbins of insulated copper wire, wound around coils of iron, revolved rapidly between powerful electromagnets. By this means a current great in quantity and high in potential was generated. The machine was called a dynamo-electric generator, or dynamo. About the same time, similar generators were invented by Edison, and by Messrs. Thompson and Houston.

Financial panics ought not to occur at all, and they are rare in most European nations; in the United States they have occurred with unpleasant frequency.

During the few years succeeding the Civil War, the finances of the country were in a somewhat strained condition, owing to the fact that the bills and currency issued by the Treasury were not worth their face value in gold.¹ Unfortunately at this time several things occurred that made an imperative demand for money, and plenty of it. The money was needed chiefly to complete the many miles of railway then under construction, and to rebuild the cities of Chicago and Boston, which had been almost destroyed by fire. There were, besides, other demands for large amounts of money.

What was still more unfortunate, about the only source of ready money was closed by some very unwise legislation. In most of the states, the farmers and the railway managers could not agree. The farmers claimed that freight rates on their produce were so high that they could not pay the interest on the mortgages against their farms. The railway men pointed out the fact that even the excessive rates charged did not pay the operating expenses of the roads. Both claims were true. The farmers then went to their various state legislatures and brought about the passage of the famous "granger" laws, which gave to state legislatures the right to fix the freight charges and fares of the railroads.

As a result, the railway companies were so badly crippled that few capitalists cared to buy either their bonds or their stocks. An important source of income had been the foreign purchasers of railway securities, and when they ceased to send their gold to the United States there was a great scarcity of money. The banks found themselves short of ready money. A demand upon the important house of Jay Cooke and Company caused that bank to fail in September, 1873, and then began the most serious panic in the history of the United States. Almost the whole country became involved. In two years there were eleven thousand failures, and industrial enterprises came to a halt all over the land.

¹ See p. 343.

Specie Payment Resumed. 1879. — There was a general demand for more money, which certainly was needed. Many people thought that the trouble could be cured by the issue of more greenbacks. So an act commonly called the **The Inflation Act** Inflation Bill passed the Congress, providing for the issue of \$44,000,000 in greenbacks, thus raising the entire issue to \$400,000,000. President Grant vetoed the act (1874).

The next act passed by the Congress in the matter (1875) was wise. It provided that the fractional paper currency might be exchanged through the post offices and subtreasuries for silver coin. It provided also for the purchase of gold coin with the surplus money that accumulated in the Treasury, and also with bonds issued for the purpose. It arranged for the recalling of many of the greenbacks, and specified that after January 1, 1879, all greenbacks should be redeemed on demand.¹

The Silver Question. — About 1859 the famous Comstock silver-bearing lode was discovered in the western part of Nevada. The mines of this lode at once became productive. They not only yielded an enormous amount of silver, but their discovery led to the discovery and development of many silver mines in other parts of Nevada. In the course of ten years the production of silver began to exceed the amount required for silver coin. In the United States the price of silver had been fixed at \$1.2929 per Troy ounce, and it was worth about the same in European countries. Inasmuch as more silver was mined than was needed, the market price began to fall rapidly. As a result most of the European countries demonetized it; that is, they ceased to coin it except in very small amounts, and declared that it should not be a legal tender, or lawful payment, except for very small amounts (usually less than the equivalent of five dollars). In 1873 the United States took the same action.

The Bland-Allison Bill. 1878. — The passage of the act demonetizing silver angered two classes of people. The silver mines and all persons depending upon them saw their business ruined by the low price of the metal and the loss of a market for it. The

¹ In 1878, however, the Congress authorized the continued issue of greenbacks, and the amount in circulation in 1906 is about \$350,000,000.

Western farmers were angered because there was a scarcity of money, which they attributed to stopping the coinage of silver.¹ They claimed that it made the payments on the mortgages against their property far more difficult to meet. This difficulty of payment certainly existed; the banks had become more exacting and required their debtors to pay promptly or lose their farms. As a matter of fact there was widespread distress.

To meet these conditions two laws were enacted by the Congress. One of them restored the issue of greenbacks; the other, presented by Mr. Bland of Missouri, was far more important—three of its provisions became national issues. These were—

Making gold sixteen times the value of silver; that is, fixing a ratio of sixteen to one.

Making silver dollars a legal tender for debts.

Coining all silver bullion brought to the mints without cost to the holder.

The Senate rejected the last provision, but passed instead Senator Allison's amendment requiring the secretary of the treasury to purchase not less than two million nor more than four million dollars' worth of silver each month and to coin the silver into dollars. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but the Congress passed it over his veto.²

Silver Certificates. 1879.—One year later another important act became law. The silver dollars were very cumbersome and inconvenient to carry about; so the Silver Certificate Act was passed, providing that the coins might be deposited in the United States Treasury, and that certificates should be issued for them. These certificates passed from hand to hand in business, and were money to all intents and purposes.

The Sherman Act. 1890.—Business matters dragged along with little change for nearly twenty years after the passage of the Bland-Allison Bill. Trade did not materially improve nor did it suffer much. It was certainly better in the Western farming region, for the farmers had become more cautious about borrowing money, and they were generally beginning to clear their farms

¹ The scarcity of money was really due to the causes noted on page 383.

² See page 362.

of mortgages. The silver mines were much worse off, however, for the price of silver fell steadily until it was worth less than **Free Silver** \$1 per ounce. So the silver miners urged the Congress to pass a bill providing for the free coinage of silver; that is, if a man had silver bullion or foreign silver coins, which he could buy for about a dollar an ounce, he could take them to the mint and have them coined into standard dollars, which would then be worth about \$1.29 + per ounce of pure silver. The bill failed to pass.

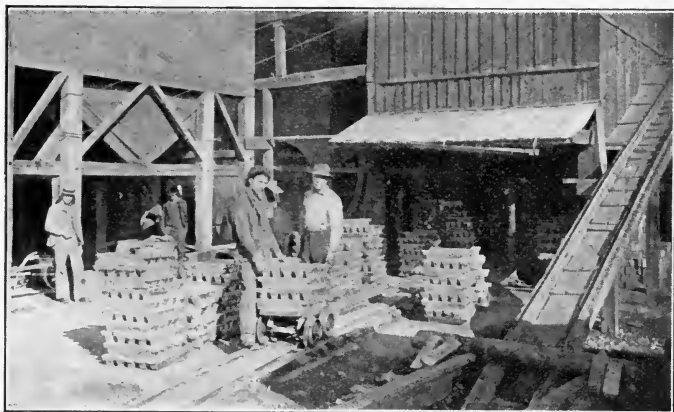
Senator Sherman then presented a substitute bill that became law (1890). Instead of coining from two million to four million standard dollars a month, the bill provided that the United States Treasury should purchase not less than four and one half million ounces of silver each month, paying for it in treasury notes. Moreover, these treasury notes, which practically were ordinary greenbacks, were to be redeemed in coin when the holder presented them to the Treasury.¹ This act certainly helped the silver miners. The mine owner would take, say, ten thousand ounces of silver to the mint, and get his pay in treasury notes; he would then take the latter to the Treasury or to a bank, and exchange them not for silver dollars, but for gold coin. The Sherman Act kept the silver mines going, which was beneficial; but it hurt business in nearly all commercial centers in which there was a foreign trade, for, China and Mexico excepted, American silver dollars would not be taken at their face value.

The Gold Reserve. 1893. — In order to redeem these treasury notes, the Treasury set aside a sum of gold that was intended to be kept at an amount not less than \$100,000,000. This sum of money came to be called the gold reserve. In the course of two years so much of this reserve was used to purchase silver for coining instead of redeeming greenbacks that the amount of gold on hand was far below the required sum. By 1893 there were about \$500,000,000 in greenbacks and treasury notes in circula-

¹ A standard silver dollar containing nine parts of silver and one of copper weighs 412½ grains; two silver half dollars weigh 385 grains. With the price of silver at \$1 per ounce, the former is worth about 80 cents. At the close of the century the intrinsic, or bullion, value of a standard dollar was about sixty cents.

tion and considerably less than \$100,000,000 in gold to redeem them with. On several occasions President Cleveland authorized the purchase of gold to keep the reserve intact, for which bonds were issued. He was severely criticised for doing so, but his action was absolutely necessary. The public debt, of course, began to increase again, and nearly \$300,000,000 was added to it.

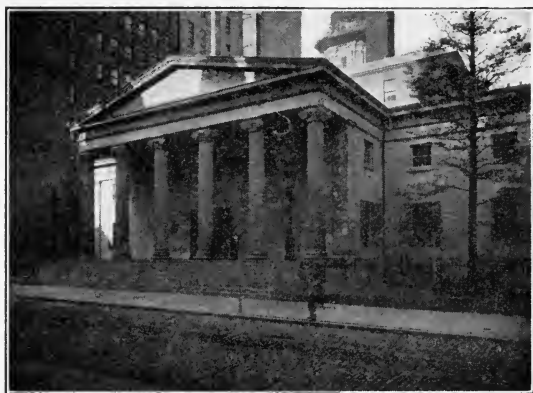
Averting a Panic. — Just about this time, too, the shipments of gold to the United States decreased to an alarming extent. There were hard times in Europe and there was but little money to invest; moreover, those who had the means to invest feared that



SILVER BULLION AT THE MINE.

they would be paid in silver instead of gold. What made matters still worse, the American people all over the country began to hoard the gold that came into their possession. As a result, there was but little money to carry on the various business enterprises. The banks began to suffer, and in many instances frightened depositors started "runs" on the banks. Fortunately, the banks had learned by the experience of the past; whenever a run on a bank was started, the others supplied it with the necessary cash to meet its payments. So, although the times were very hard and many industrial enterprises were suspended, there were not many failures among the banks.

The Silver Purchase Clause Repealed. 1893. — The fear that the country would drift into the adoption of silver instead of gold as the basis of business alarmed the people, especially in the East, and President Cleveland called the Congress in extra session in order to discuss the repealing of that part of the Sherman Act that compelled the Treasury to purchase so much silver. It very quickly became a contest between the financial leaders of the East and the silver miners of the West. The former desired to have gold as the basis of business; the latter desired to have silver. For the greater part, the farmers of the Middle West and the



THE UNITED STATES MINT AT PHILADELPHIA.

South took sides with the silver miners. The Congress, nevertheless, repealed the silver purchase clause of the Sherman Act.

The Free Silver Coinage Movement. — Stopping the purchase of silver did not bring about prosperity; on the contrary, it was a most severe blow to the Rocky Mountain states. Many mines were closed, and about one hundred thousand employees became idle. The depressed state of business likewise affected the farming communities, and they also were in distress.

Consequently, there arose a movement that had a very widespread following. It became a part of the policy of the Democratic party, and twice caused the defeat of that party. It first

took form in a convention at Denver; then it took shape at Chicago as the National Bimetallic League. The platform of the party demanded that if the government stopped the purchase of silver, then the holder or owner of silver should be permitted to take his metal to the mint and have it returned to him in the form of standard dollars. In 1896, and again in 1900, this policy was the issue of the presidential election; both times the party advocating it was defeated.

The Rise of the Clearing House. — Although the volume of business throughout the country has increased many times over, the amount of money required for the transaction of business has increased but little. Nowadays, scarcely one tenth of the business debts incurred is paid in money. Business firms and people who have their accounts at a bank usually pay their accounts by check; that is, a man signs an order, requiring the bank in which his money is deposited to pay to the person or firm designated a certain sum of money.

In a large city many thousand checks are daily presented to the banks. Every day certain clerks of the various banks meet at the clearing house, where each bank receives the checks drawn against it, and these are exchanged dollar for dollar. The balances remaining to be paid in cash or to be credited are very small in comparison with the aggregate value of all. In New York City, for instance, the daily business of the clearing house has averaged as much as a quarter of a billion dollars. If all this were paid in gold, more than six hundred trucks or wagons would be required to distribute it. As a matter of fact, less than one dollar in a thousand is actually paid in cash. The clearing house is therefore a great aid to the rapid transaction of business.

The Development of the Trust. — The employment of a chartered company or corporation instead of a partnership agreement in the transaction of business is no new thing. The corporate company existed in the Roman republic, and always

**Corpora-
tions**

has been an established fact in Europe and America. Such institutions as the railways, insurance companies, and other large concerns could not be successfully carried on as partnerships or firms. Just after the Civil War business enterprises grew in

magnitude to such an extent that it was no longer expedient to conduct them as private partnerships; hence a great many of them became incorporated companies, or corporations. The principle was a good one; the men who controlled them were not always good, however.

One result was to be expected, and would have occurred inevitably. Companies in the same line of business were thrown into
Competition fierce competition. In order to undersell one another, the prices to their customers were cut down until two things were bound to happen: the quality of the articles or commodities deteriorated, and the wages to the employees were lowered to starvation figures.

Between 1880 and 1890 it occurred to the managers of the concerns doing the same kind of business that if they were to unite under a single head they would accomplish two things: they would save much expense in the matter of management, and they could avoid competing with one another and thereby fix higher prices for their commodities.

The combining of interests was managed in two ways. The directors of the corporations to be united might assign their
The trust interests to a general board of trustees. The latter would then manage the affairs of the consolidated companies, and pay over a stipulated amount from the yearly earnings to each company. This method of consolidating companies is known as a trust.

In other cases the different companies would agree among themselves as to the prices at which their commodities were to
The pool be sold. All returns from sales were turned over to designated officers, who divided them among the various companies according to agreement. If more goods were produced than could profitably be sold, some of the factories would be closed; the closed factories, however, were paid a certain percentage of the receipts. This method of combination is a pool. All such combinations, however, became generally known as trusts.

As a matter of business, trusts and pools, as a rule, have been good measures; but the moral effect very frequently was bad,

because they were often controlled by unscrupulous men. In many instances smaller concerns were forced to sell out to the larger combinations, not by open competition, but by illicit means. In several instances the trusts became monopolies that were dangerous, because they controlled not only the output of the necessary food-stuffs, but the price of them as well.



THE NATIONAL CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

Anti-trust Legislation. — In various instances the acts of these combinations became so decidedly contrary to public welfare that much legislation, both national and state, was directed against them. The Congress passed the Sherman Anti-trust Act (1890), forbidding all combinations that in any way restrained the output and commerce of commodities. This law helped to prevent such combinations in trade as might bring about a monopoly in the commodities that are necessary to life.

The Sherman Act

The principles of the Sherman Act have been made the foundation of much state legislation. The act itself was most bitterly

contested in the courts, but it was finally upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. Because of the act, most of the trusts and pools were declared illegal and were dissolved; the companies were then compelled to become ordinary corporations, subject to the laws of the state in which they did business.

Railroad Pools.—The study of an ordinary railway folder will show that many of the principal railways have the same cities for terminals. Nearly a dozen lines have their two terminals in Chicago and New York City. After years of sharp competition, that kept some of them practically in bankruptcy, the railways agreed upon the plan of fixing for each kind of traffic a given rate that should apply to all roads. The earnings were then divided. This plan, which is a pool pure and simple, proved to be the best that had been devised. In the meantime it had been adopted by law in several European states.

The Sherman Act made pooling illegal, inasmuch as such action was declared to prevent free competition.¹ The railways were therefore required to dissolve their pooling associations. In several instances railway companies were consolidated in order to avoid the application of the law; for although two or more roads might not pool their earnings, there would be no pool if the two lines were consolidated. The consolidation of competing lines was carried on to the extent that, at the end of the nineteenth century, the two hundred thousand miles of railroad in the country were grouped in about a dozen great systems which were owned or controlled by less than a dozen men.

The Interstate Commerce Commission.—In order to settle the dispute between the shipper and the railway company, and also to decide certain questions arising among the railway companies themselves, the Congress (1887) passed the Interstate Commerce Act. The act created the Interstate Commerce Commission of five members. This body has the power to investigate complaints and to award damages, but it has very limited power to enforce its orders.

The Elkins Rebate Act. 1903.—Between 1880 and the close of the century, certain railways had been giving lower rates to some

¹ It had also been declared illegal by the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887.

of their customers than to others. As a result, the less favored ones had either been driven out of business entirely or had been compelled to sell their business to their more favored competitors. This was clearly against the laws. The laws, however, were not openly broken but were evaded; the favored shipper paid full rates at the time of shipment, but afterward received a rebate of a part of the payment. The Elkins Act, passed in 1903, to remedy certain defects in the Interstate Commerce Act, forbade the giving of rebates; but inasmuch as they are given indirectly, convictions for violations of the law have been very difficult to procure. In the latter part of 1905, however, one of the great meat packing companies was convicted and fined \$25,000.

SUMMARY

The few years following the Civil War were an epoch of railway building. This brought about the substitution of steel in the place of iron rails, which vastly increased the carrying power of the railways. The most important of the railways were the transcontinental lines.

Among electrical inventions were the telephone and the generators of powerful currents that could be applied to motors for machinery and street cars, and also to illumination.

A great financial crash occurred in 1873, due to the sudden needs for ready money to rebuild the burnt districts of Chicago and Boston and to complete unfinished railways. Unwise legislation had made it very difficult to borrow money in Europe for railway building.

Specie payment was resumed in 1879.

The amount of silver mined in the seventies proved greater than the demand; the price of the metal therefore fell. Silver was generally demonetized in 1873.

The Bland-Allison Act required the government to coin from two million to four million silver dollars monthly; the Sherman Silver Act required the government to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month. This act was repealed in 1893, on account of the fall in the value of the silver dollar.

Fierce competition led to the consolidation of smaller establishments of similar character into combinations and trusts. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act made illegal all agreements which restrain the

free movement of trade. This act also applied to railway pools. The Elkins Act made the giving of rebates illegal.

The Interstate Commerce Commission was established for the purpose of regulating disputed matters between the railways and the shippers.

COLLATERAL READING

Railroad Transportation — Hadley.

American Railway Transportation — Johnson.

Strategy of the Railways — Spearman.

Advanced Civics — Forman. Chapters XLIII, XLVII.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

The Cuban Question. — Since the very beginning of the American nation there have been occasional periods of friction with Spain on account of her possessions in the West Indies.¹ The governors-general of Cuba, who were appointed by the Spanish Crown, were not always tactful in their dealings with the Americans in Cuba, nor were they quite so mindful of the rights of foreigners as they should have been. In part this was due to Spanish hatred of republican institutions; in no slight degree, however, it resulted from the doings of American adventurers and demagogues, who very frequently created trouble. As is usually the case, American merchants and traders suffered most from this state of affairs. The Spanish authorities in Cuba were accustomed to show their dislike for Americans by various annoying exactions in trade and by scant protection to the property of American citizens in Cuba.*

Occasionally American statesmen had expressed a desire to annex the island of Cuba. President Adams was not adverse to holding Cuba "as a pledge for a loan."² In 1848 Secretary of State (afterward President) Buchanan proposed the purchase of the island for \$100,000,000; in the Ostend Manifesto (1854) he boldly advocated its seizure.³ He thought it necessary to take

¹ In 1807 there was danger of a French occupation of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies; a few years later (1819) it seemed as though Great Britain had designs upon Cuba. In 1861 France was again a menace.

² Jefferson, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Polk, and Pierce were of the opinion that Cuba should be annexed to the United States, but no one of them cared to take the responsibility of bringing about a war with Spain.

³ "If Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endangers our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union, then by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain."

this step in order to maintain slavery. The people, however, were strongly opposed to anything of the kind.

The Case of the Black Warrior. 1854. — In 1854 the American steamship *Black Warrior* was seized in the Port of Havana and ordered to be confiscated. It was a high-handed affair, and popular indignation in the United States reached the danger point. The Spanish authorities disavowed the act, however, and vessel and cargo were surrendered to the owners. Nevertheless, on both sides, the work of fomenting discord went along without interruption. The outbreak of the Civil War probably averted for a time a clash between the two nations.

The Revolt of the Cubans; the Virginius Affair. 1868–1878. — A few years after the close of the Civil War, the Cubans revolted (1868) against Spanish rule and, to the disgrace of the American authorities, much of the work of organizing the rebellion was carried on secretly in the United States. The methods of the Spanish authorities in putting down the rebellion were barbarous and atrocious, and it seemed that peaceful citizens had no rights, either of property or person, to be respected. There was a general feeling of irritation throughout the United States. In the meantime the trade between the two countries, which had gradually increased to about \$100,000,000 yearly, was destroyed, and the financial losses that resulted were very great.

During the revolt (1873) the steamship *Virginius*, sailing from New York and registered as an American vessel, was captured by a Spanish warship and brought into a Cuban port. **The Virginius** About fifty of her officers and crew were tried by a military court and shot, notwithstanding the protests of the American government and a positive order from the Spanish government for the civil trial of the prisoners. Popular indignation in the United States reached the danger point again, and only the firmness of President Grant prevented action that certainly would have led to war with Spain. When the case was investigated, however, it was learned that the registry of the *Virginius* had been obtained by fraud, and that she was engaged in an act which was illegal and hostile toward the Spanish government. The latter paid an indemnity to the families of the

American citizens¹ who had been shot, and surrendered the *Virginius*.²

The Cuban revolt had no tangible result except to bring death and misery to thousands of innocent Cubans. Trade was strangled and bankruptcy overtook many whose bread and butter depended on a peaceful commerce between the two countries. President Grant suggested a friendly mediation between the insurrectionists and the Spanish government, but his offer was not considered. But there was so much talk of the intervention of foreign powers that Spain offered the Cubans certain concessions, and after about ten years of war, hostilities ceased.

Peace was not of long duration, however, for the Spanish officials in Cuba forgot the promises made by the government, and not only started anew the heavy trade exactions in the shape of fines and overcharges, but flatly refused to pay for the property of Americans which had been confiscated during the rebellion. So matters went on for a decade. Several filibustering expeditions were secretly fitted out in American ports, with the result that Spanish cruisers in search of them fired upon vessels in lawful trade. Then there was the usual diplomatic correspondence; the American government protested; the Spanish officials apologized and promised — and neither one took any steps that would help matters.

Pacification

American
trade mo-
lested

The Policy of the United States. — Up to 1895 the policy of the United States with reference to Cuba had been conciliatory. There were abundant excuses and many opportunities for taking action which would have ended in the acquisition of Cuba, but the American government has always refused to take advantage of them. In spite of individual opinions of eminent statesmen, popular opinion in regard to Cuba has always been "hands off."

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, conditions were taking shape that made intervention a necessity, and with these the American nation had nothing to do.

¹ As a rule these men bore such names as Manuel Gonzales or Don Perez de Alvarado y Gomez.

² Technically she was surrendered; as a matter of fact, she was scuttled and sunk before the authorities had official possession of her.

Sugar Production in Cuba. — For many years Cuba had been one of the leading sugar-producing regions of the world, and the American people were her chief customers. Within the last thirty years of the nineteenth century the world's consumption of sugar increased so enormously that the supply of cane sugar was nowhere equal to the demand. In order to meet this demand, the cultivation of the sugar beet in Europe was encouraged.¹ Inasmuch as raw cane sugar could be obtained from the tropical islands more cheaply than beet sugar could be produced in Europe, the various European states protected the growers of beet sugar by paying a bonus on all sugar exported.

The immediate result of this bonus on export sugar was to lower the wholesale price of sugar in Cuba to a point where the Cuban sugar growers saw nothing but financial ruin ahead of them. The only relief to the unfortunate condition would have been a material lowering of the taxes imposed by the Spanish government. This, however, was a concession which the latter declined to make.

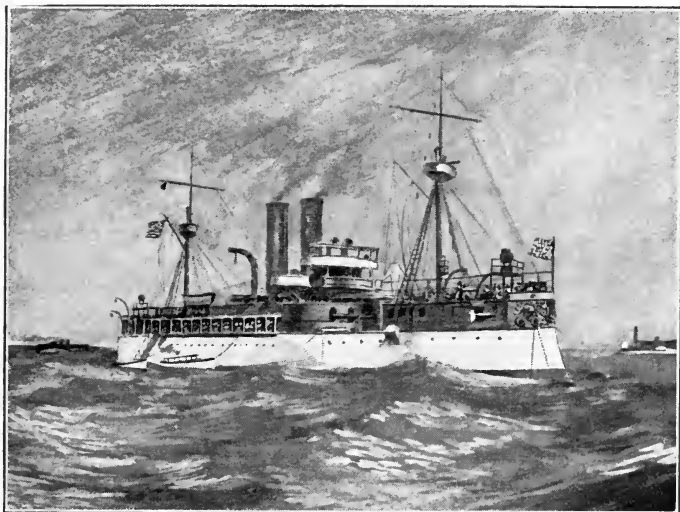
The Cubans declare their Independence. 1895. — As a result, the Cubans for a sixth time in half a century rebelled. On this occasion they declared themselves independent, and organized a republic (1895).

Americans had invested in the island more than \$50,000,000, while the annual volume of their trade was about double that sum. The Americans quickly realized that their property was the lawful prey of both Spain and the rebellious Cubans. They were indignant that they had no rights of property to be respected; the Spanish government was equally irritated that the real insurrectionary headquarters of the Cubans was in New York City, and that hostile expeditions were fitted out at American ports almost weekly, in spite of efforts to prevent them. The President and the Congress were urged by the people to recognize the independence of Cuba, and to grant the rights of belligerents to the insurrectionary government. A great majority of the people of the United States

¹ At the close of the century less than half of the total sugar product came from the sugar cane; the production of beet sugar has been steadily increasing.

grew to be in favor of such a measure, but the government wisely refrained.

The Reconcentration Camps. — During the three years following the declaration of Cuban independence, Spain sent two hundred thousand troops to quell the revolt. General Weyler was made military governor of Cuba, and he began a policy that for atrocity has no equal in modern history.¹ Noncombatant Cubans were forced into camps of "reconcentration," where they were systemati-



THE MAINE.

cally starved to death ; those who refused to go into these camps were butchered — men, women, and children. The horrors of the situation shocked the civilized world. It was a question of time only until the American government should intervene.

The Destruction of the Battleship Maine. 1898. — The opportunity for intervention occurred sooner than was expected. The United States battleship *Maine*, under Captain Sigsbee, while at anchor

¹ Weyler was recalled by the Spanish government, practically because his methods had become so offensive to the American government. His successor, General Blanco, was a humane man as well as a skillful soldier.

at a place assigned to her by the authorities of Havana Harbor, was blown to pieces (February 15, 1898) by a torpedo or other explosive.



ADMIRAL DEWEY.

Two hundred and sixty of the *Maine's* men were killed, and the battleship herself was torn to pieces. In the official inquiry there was no evidence to suggest that the Spanish government or any official was concerned in the matter; indeed, the Spanish officials offered every kindly service within their power to Captain Sigsbee and the survivors.

War Declared. 1898.—The destruction of the vessel certainly hastened what was inevitable. The Congress of the

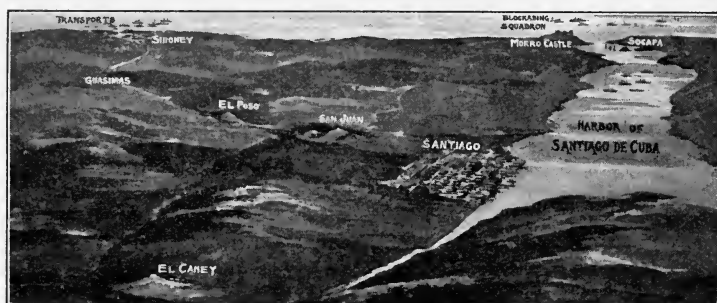
United States (April 19, 1898) adopted a resolution demanding of Spain that she withdraw at once from the West Indies; and at the same time the independence of Cuba was recognized. President McKinley was authorized to carry out the resolution with the army and navy, and \$50,000,000 was supplied to the President for the purpose of getting the army and the navy ready for war. Two days later the Spanish government gave the American minister his passport, and war between the two countries was on.¹

¹ At the opening of the negotiations between the United States and Spain concerning Cuba, President McKinley expressed the belief that with time and authority from the Congress, he could bring about a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of the Cuban difficulty. Stewart L. Woodford, minister to Spain, entered heartily into the President's purpose. On April 9, he telegraphed to President McKinley from Madrid that the Spanish government had agreed to a cessation of hostilities preparatory to a peaceful settlement. On April 10, Woodford telegraphed: "I believe you will get final settlement . . . on one of the following bases: Either such autonomy as the insurgents may agree to accept, or recognition by Spain of the independence of the island, or cession of the island to the United States. I hope that nothing will now be done to humiliate Spain, as I am satisfied that the present government is going, and is loyally ready to go, as fast and as far as it can." In the President's message to the Congress on the

There were two fields of operation—the Spanish possessions in the West Indies and the Philippine Islands. The latter, like Cuba, had been in revolt for several years.

The Battle of Manila Bay. May 1, 1898.—The first hostilities of importance occurred in the Philippines, in the harbor of Manila. Immediately after the declaration of war Commodore George Dewey assembled at Mirs Bay, near Hongkong, the war vessels on duty in Pacific waters. Proceeding to the Philippine Islands, his fleet entered Manila Bay (May 1, 1898). Within a few hours Dewey had sunk or destroyed the Spanish fleet of ten vessels, and captured

Americans
acquire
Philippine
Islands



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF SANTIAGO AND VICINITY.

the fortifications of the harbor, including the arsenal at Cavité. None were even wounded on the American side. The city and harbor were blockaded until the arrival of General Merritt with twenty thousand troops. A few weeks later (August 13) the city and the islands were surrendered with very slight resistance.

The Plan of Campaign in the West Indies.—The campaign in the West Indies was a more difficult affair. A part of the American fleet under Acting Rear-Admiral William Sampson was sent to blockade Havana; another part, under Commodore Winfield

11th, he said, after referring to Spain's order for a cessation of hostilities, "If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people will be realized." In the face of these facts the Congress declared war. ("Foreign Relations of the United States," 1898, Pub. Doc.)

Scott Schley, was organized into a "flying squadron," to search for the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera, which had sailed



ADMIRAL SCHLEY.

from a Spanish port for the West Indies. After a considerable skillful sea-maneuvering, Admiral Cervera, in need of coal and other supplies, took refuge in the harbor and port of Santiago. The strongly fortified harbor, known as a cloverleaf bay, opens into the ocean through a narrow, tortuous channel. It was manifestly unwise for an attacking fleet to enter the harbor well-laid with mines; so all the available vessels of the fleet were disposed about the entrance to blockade it.¹

The Capture of Santiago. — The presence of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Santiago made it the chief strategic point, and the necessity for capturing the city and harbor was at once apparent. An army of eighteen thousand men was at once dispatched to the seat of war under the command of General William R. Shafter. The army was landed at a point a few miles distant from Santiago, and the campaign was at once begun. The outer line of defenses at El Caney and San Juan was taken by assault (July 1, 1898), and held in spite of the efforts to recapture them.² The fighting was most severe, but the

Land
operations

¹ It was during this blockade that a young naval officer, Richmond Pierson Hobson of Alabama, fitted the collier *Merrimac* for the purpose, and, with a crew of seven men, brought her under her own steam to a narrow part of the channel, and torpedoed and sunk her with the design of blocking it. Hobson and his crew threw themselves into the water, but were captured. They were kindly treated by Admiral Cervera and were shortly afterward exchanged. The sunken vessel did not block the channel, however.

² The charge of the "Rough Riders," a regiment composed of Western frontiersmen, was a noteworthy event. Theodore Roosevelt, former assistant secretary of the navy, was in command of the regiment at the time and led the charge

Spanish troops were driven into the city, which was practically at the mercy of the American army.

When this condition was apparent, Acting Rear-Admiral Sampson went to hold a conference with General Shafter, regarding a concerted assault upon the city by both land and naval forces. While he was absent, the lookout of Commodore Schley's flagship, the *Brooklyn*, observed that the Spanish fleet was in motion, and it became quickly apparent that Admiral Cervera, as a forlorn hope, was attempting to run the blockade. In a very few moments the fight was begun, and in about two hours it was over. When the firing had ceased, all the Spanish ships were battered wrecks; the American vessels were uninjured. The plans so carefully laid by Acting Rear-Admiral Sampson, and carried out so splendidly by Commodore Schley, on that fateful day (July 3), were the undoing of the Spanish nation so far as her American possessions were concerned. Admiral Cervera and about eighteen hundred men were made prisoners of war.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet



ADMIRAL SAMPSON.

The presence of General Shafter's army before the city of Santiago, and the loss of Cervera's vessels convinced the Spanish authorities that further resistance was useless. A few days later (July 14) the Spanish commander of the forces in Santiago, General Toral, surrendered. The capitulation of the city carried with it the control of the eastern part of Cuba. About the same time General Nelson Miles, then commanding the army of the United States, began the military investment of Porto Rico, in which he encountered but little actual resistance.

The surrender of Santiago

up the hill. His bravery that day made him the idol of the "cowboy contingent" of the West.

Spain sues for Peace. 1898.—A few weeks after the fall of Santiago, the Spanish government made overtures for peace



GENERAL SHAFTER.



GENERAL MILES.

through the French ambassador at Washington. A protocol, or preliminary agreement, was drawn up (August 12) by the secretary of state and the French ambassador who acted for the Spanish government, and hostilities were suspended.¹

The formal treaty was signed in Paris a few months later (December 10) and ratified by both nations. By its terms Spain gave up all rights to Cuba. Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands were regarded as the rightful conquest of war; but the United States agreed to pay Spain the sum of \$20,000,000, a sum equal to the amount that Spain had expended in the way of public improvements in the islands. Spain also ceded to the United States the island of Guam, one of the Ladrone group in the Pacific, which was needed as a naval and coaling station.

Territorial Expansion; the Reconstruction of Cuba and Porto Rico.—At the beginning of the war, Alaska was practically the only territorial possession of the United States that was not a part of the main body of the country. At the close of the war, the twentieth parallel of latitude passed through or near two large

¹ The orders for the cessation of hostilities did not reach Admiral Dewey for several days, and the attack on Manila by the fleet and General Merritt's forces occurred August 13, a few hours after the signing of the protocol.

groups and several important islands that were possessions of the United States or held by this country under protection.

The island of Cuba was held for about three years under military control. It was a mortifying fact that the scandalous conduct of some of the officials in high positions led to unpleasant criticism from abroad. Nevertheless, under the direction of the United States authorities the government of the island was organized and put on a good finan-

The reorgani-
zation of
Cuba



A PUBLIC SCHOOL IN PORTO RICO.

cial basis. Not the least important feature was the organization and equipment of a most excellent department of public instruction under a distinguished educator, Alexis E. Frye. When the Cuban government had been put in running order, the United States gave back the island to the Cubans, and the Cuban republic was launched. The United States authorities reserved the right to disapprove any foreign policy that might menace the peace of either Cuba or the United States.

Porto Rico was one of the spoils of war. A stable government was organized and put into operation as soon as possible. The establishment of public schools and the construction of good roads and other much-needed public improvements were quickly begun. Since the acquisition of the island, the people have proved themselves loyal, and the officers elected by them have shown themselves upright and capable.



THE HARBOR OF HONOLULU.

The Annexation of Hawaii. 1898. — The Hawaiian Islands¹ occupy a most important midocean position in the Pacific.

Its importance

Because of their geographic position, their capital, Honolulu, has been an ocean post office, supply station, and general exchange station for half a century. About 1865 it was found that the volcanic lavas of the islands quickly decomposed and formed excellent soil for the cultivation of the sugar cane. Sugar growing became the chief industry of the islands, and San Francisco was the chief market for the sugar. As far back as 1870 the islands were commercially in close relations with the United States.

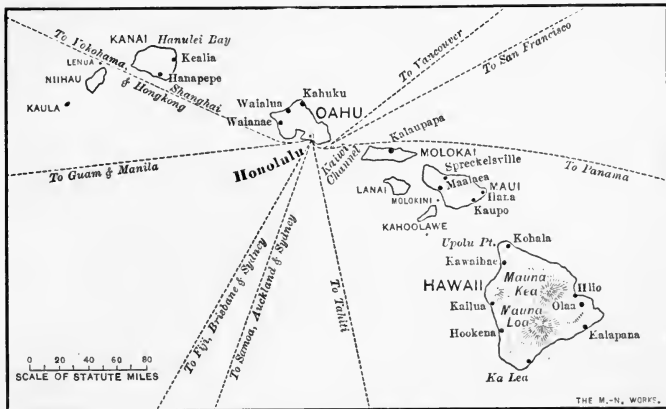
In 1851 a French naval force threatened to take possession of the islands, and King Kamehameha III, then the sovereign, in

¹ The islands consist of a partly submerged range, whose surface is composed of volcanic rock. Eight of the islands are inhabited, but five of them contain practically all of the population. Nearly 25,000 of the people are Americans and Europeans, 75,000 are native Hawaiians, and 40,000 are Chinese and Japanese.

order to forestall the possibility of becoming a subject of France, executed a deed delivering the islands to the United States. The deed was placed in the possession of the United States commissioner, to become effective in the case that hostile action should be taken against the kingdom by a European power. After that time American influence was regarded as paramount, and practically, though not nominally, the kingdom was under the protection of the United States.

Relations
with the
United
States

In 1892 Queen Liliuokalani endeavored to overthrow the constitutional government. A revolution resulted. The United



THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, A STATION ON COMMERCIAL ROUTES.

States warship *Boston* was at Honolulu at the time, and her sailors were sent ashore to preserve order. During the revolution the American flag was hoisted over the government building by order of the *Boston's* commander. President Cleveland believed that this officer had exceeded his orders, and disapproved the proceedings. The queen was deposed, however, and a provisional republic was formed (July 4, 1894).

At the time of the Spanish-American War, the value of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States for strategic purposes

became so apparent that the question of annexation was again opened, with the result that the formalities were quickly completed (July 6, 1898). President McKinley immediately reappointed the officers then in office, and the laws of the provisional republic were ordered enforced until they might be changed by the Congress. The Territory of Hawaii was created April 30, 1900.

The Problem of the Philippine Islands. — The management and organization of affairs in the Philippine Islands proved a most



A MARKET SCENE IN THE PHILIPPINES. ♦

difficult task. Before the American occupation of the islands, a revolutionary government had been established by the natives, but it actually amounted to little. Just after the American occupation, the native organization, under the leadership of Aguinaldo, took up arms against the Americans and several years of bush fighting followed in consequence. A great many natives were killed, and not until nearly every part of the

island of Luzon had been occupied by American troops, was the revolt quelled. Aguinaldo was finally captured by General Funston, and hostilities ceased soon afterward. Since that time the native peoples have loyally supported the government.

There were many people in the United States who were opposed to the occupation of the islands, believing that they should have been left to the native

The question of self-government

peoples and that the latter were fully capable of self-government. The majority of Americans, however, held that such an act would have been cowardly, inasmuch as the condition of anarchy into which the islands were drifting would have resulted in civil war, loss of life, and dangerous foreign complications. They believed that, having taken the islands, it was the sacred duty of the American people to establish a stable government there, and to teach the people the art and science of self-government. This was the opinion of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

Under Governor (afterwards Secretary of War) William H. Taft this policy was carried out, and in many districts the government is now administered by native officials. A system of public schools was established soon after the American occupation.



THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

That many unwise and some ludicrous things were done in the first attempts to organize a government in the islands is certainly true; nevertheless, the final results are deserving of praise and commendation.

Some Lessons taught by the War. — The direct cost of the war to the United States was not far from \$150,000,000 ;¹ the indirect cost was much greater, for it involved the necessity of increasing the regular army and the building of a much stronger navy. The navy had been adequate for the war in which it took part, but thoughtful people saw plainly that it must be made equal in effectiveness to the navy of any other nation in the world. They realized that moral rights are respected by foreign nations only when there are battleships in the background, and that "battleships are cheaper than war." The policy of a strong navy now meets opposition only on moral grounds; in the light of civilization it can be regarded only as a temporary necessity.

At the beginning of the war the coast defenses of the country were ridiculous. There was not a single modern gun or a fortification that for a moment would resist projectiles fired from the guns of a warship eight miles distant. Moreover, it was learned that more than one European nation had the exact information that would enable their warships to drop shells into the arsenals, arms factories, and magazines near the coast. The construction of first-class coast defenses was immediately taken in hand, and the work upon them has steadily progressed.

Before the war it was generally believed by military and naval authorities in Europe that the American army and navy could not hold out against a second-rate power; indeed, they were a laughing-stock to most Europeans. The sea fight at Santiago was a breath-taking shock, for it had been predicted in every

¹ This expense was met by an internal tax on various articles of use, by a tax on bank checks and various legal documents, and by borrowing money from the people. The United States Treasury was empowered to issue three per cent bonds to the amount of \$400,000,000, and to borrow to the amount of \$100,000,000 on certificates of indebtedness.

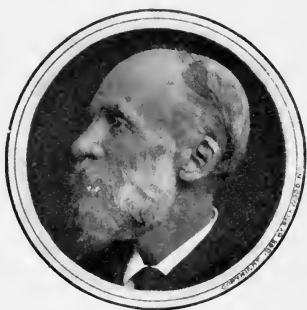
European capital that with evenly matched forces the Spanish fleet would easily win.¹

By far the greatest result of the war, however, was the patriotic feeling developed throughout the nation. Young men in every walk of life rushed to the recruiting office.

A united
country

Rich and poor, highborn and lowborn, for the moment forgot everything but their country's call.² Prominent

among the men who volunteered were General Joseph Wheeler and General Fitzhugh Lee, distinguished Confederate soldiers. It



GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER.



GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE.

was quickly manifest that the chase for wealth and social position had not seriously warped the character of the younger element of American citizenship. For the first time in nearly a century all parts of the country were united and sectional feeling was probably forever buried. It is sad that, in the history of any nation, such a lesson should ever have been needed; it is equally gratifying that America, young and old, was ready to receive and to abide by it.

¹ The splendid gunnery of the navy was due in no small degree to Theodore Roosevelt, former assistant secretary of the navy. While connected with that branch of the service, Mr. Roosevelt insisted on the most thorough drills in target practice. As a result but few shots in battle were wasted. No other gunners in the world could show such wonderfully accurate firing.

² On one of the vessels that had been converted into a very good armed cruiser, a young sailor, serving as steersman, was complimented for his skill in handling the vessel. The young man was the former owner of the cruiser. He had presented the vessel to the government, had enlisted in the navy, and was serving as an able seaman on what had been his property.

SUMMARY

At various times there had been friction between American merchants and Spanish officers in Cuba, owing to the evasion of neutrality laws or to trade regulations.

Up to 1895 the policy of the United States government had been conciliatory.

In 1895 the Cubans rebelled against Spain and declared themselves independent. In three years' time two hundred thousand Spanish troops failed to restore order. The cruel treatment of the Cubans aroused general indignation.

Several million dollars' worth of American property was either destroyed or impaired in value.

In 1898 the United States battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana Harbor. Shortly afterwards the United States demanded that Spain evacuate her possessions in the West Indies.

War being declared, a force of troops was sent to invest Santiago, where a Spanish fleet had taken refuge. In an attempt to escape the fleet was destroyed. Santiago was then surrendered.

Porto Rico was captured without opposition.

A fleet entered Manila Bay, Philippine Islands, and sunk the Spanish war vessels there. The Spanish force in the islands capitulated a few days afterward.

A treaty of peace was signed in Paris in December, 1898.

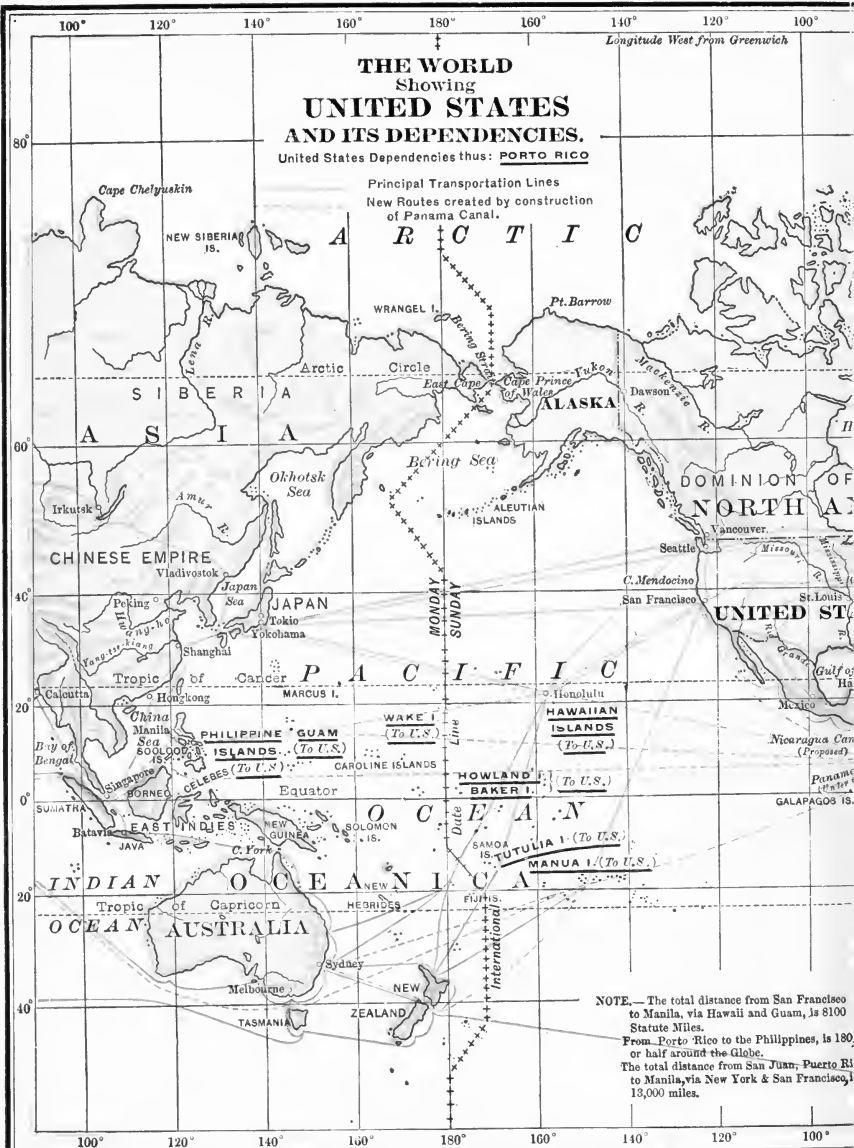
The territory of the United States was enlarged by (1) the Hawaiian Islands, annexed by treaty; (2) Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, conquests of war; (3) the island of Guam, purchased from Spain. Cuba became an independent republic.

COLLATERAL READING

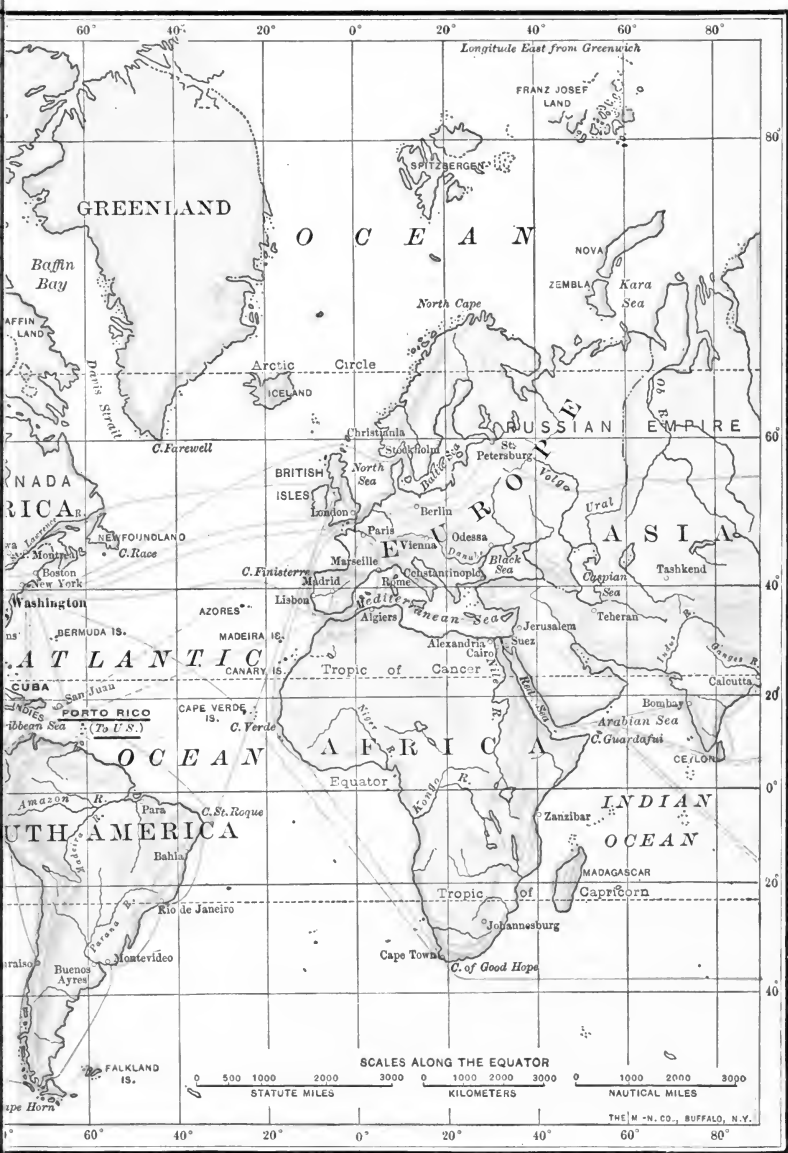
Advanced Civics — Forman. Chapter XXV.

United States Dependencies thus: **PORTO RICO**

Principal Transportation Lines
New Routes created by construction
of Panama Canal.



NOTE.—The total distance from San Francisco to Manila, via Hawaii and Guam, is 8100 Statute Miles.
From Porto Rico to the Philippines, is 18 or half around the Globe.
The total distance from San Juan, Puerto Rico to Manila, via New York & San Francisco, 13,000 miles.



CHAPTER XXII

RECENT EVENTS

The New Epoch. — With the beginning of the twentieth century the United States began a new epoch in its history. The most important geographical positions in the Pacific Ocean are controlled by it. Its territory is in a direct line between the centers of commerce and population of Europe and Asia. The line of intercommunication across the continent lies up the Hudson, through the Mohawk Valley, along the Great Lakes, and thence to the ports of Puget Sound. Before many years this will be one of the greatest trade routes of the world.

McKinley reëlected. 1900. — In the presidential campaign of 1900, the great parties nominated the same candidates that had been pitted against each other four years before — William McKinley and William J. Bryan. The platforms of the two were also essentially the same as before on the money question. The Democrats declared again for free coinage of silver, denounced the corrupting influence of trusts, and advocated giving independence to the Philippine Islands. The Republicans again stood for the gold standard and declared that all forms of money should be redeemable in gold; they favored retaining possession of the Philippine Islands. McKinley was reëlected by a large majority, and Theodore Roosevelt¹ of New York was elected Vice-President.

¹ THEODORE ROOSEVELT was born in New York in 1858. He was graduated from Harvard University. He entered politics as a vigorous advocate of civil service principles. In 1889 President Harrison appointed him United States civil service commissioner. Later he was appointed New York police commissioner. At the outbreak of the war with Spain he resigned his post as assistant secretary of the navy to enter the army. Together with Colonel Leonard Wood, he led a force of volunteer cavalry in Cuba. His regiment, composed mainly of Western cowboys and college men, was known as Roosevelt's Rough Riders. In 1899 he was chosen governor of New York State. In 1900 he was elected Vice-

The Philippine Policy. — President McKinley very quickly made it known that he intended to establish a stable government in the Philippine Islands. Little by little, as peace was established in the provinces, civil government was substituted for military rule. Under the wise administration of Governor William H. Taft, peace came to the islands so long rent by war and revolution.

The Murder of McKinley. 1901. — Of seven men elected to the presidency since 1864, three have died by the hand of the assassin.



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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

In September, 1901, while President McKinley was holding a public reception within the grounds of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, he was shot down by an anarchist who approached him as if to shake hands. As he sank to the ground he said, "It is God's will." The President lingered for several days, and then his life went out. To his great statesmanship there was added a most beautiful character.

Vice-President Roosevelt immediately took the oath of office, and his administration was continued under

**Roosevelt
becomes
President**

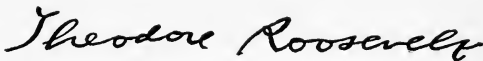
practically the same cabinet, following the policy of McKinley.

The Department of Commerce. — A new executive department, the need of which had long been felt, was established by the Congress in 1903 — the Department of Commerce and Labor. The secretary of the new department became a member of the President's

President, and on the death of President McKinley, in September, 1901, he succeeded to the presidency. He was nominated for a second term, and in 1904 was elected the twenty-sixth President.

cabinet. The various existing bureaus that pertained to commerce and labor were placed in the control of the department, and the Bureau of Corporations was created. To the latter bureau was given the power to investigate the workings of great corporations doing an interstate business, the railways excepted.

The Reclamation of Arid Lands. — About twenty years before the close of the century, the government had undertaken the reclamation of certain arid lands in the Western highlands. There are about one hundred million acres of waste lands that can be reclaimed and made productive by storing and distributing the waters of stream and storm. In years past the building of reservoirs and ditches depended upon the uncertain action of the Congress, and the work, though well planned, was not well carried out. In



THE AUTOGRAPH OF ROOSEVELT.

1902 the Congress ordered that the money received from the sales of public lands in the arid section should be set apart for use in reclaiming such lands as might be made suitable for cultivation.

The Panama Canal. — The necessity of a canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans has been recognized for upwards of four hundred years, having been advocated in Spain just after the discovery of the Pacific Ocean. It has been made the subject of two treaties between the United States and Great Britain.¹ Surveys were made for a canal to cross the Central American state Nicaragua, and work upon a canal at that point was about to be undertaken by the United States government.

In 1902 the French owners of a franchise for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, in the republic of Colombia, offered to sell the franchise to the United States, and the offer was taken. The Colombian government, however, refused to make a treaty with the United States. The state of Panama then seceded from Colombia and became independent. A treaty between Panama and the United States was concluded (1904) in which the right of way and a bordering strip ten miles wide was ceded

¹ See p. 281. The second treaty (Hay-Pauncefote) was made in December, 1901.

to the United States. To the United States was given also the sanitary regulation of Colon and Panama.

Roosevelt elected President. 1904.—The years of Roosevelt's first administration were a period of great prosperity and there was general satisfaction with his straightforward policy. In the three years that he had been President, he had proved a most capable chief executive. In the election of 1904 it was a foregone conclusion that the Republicans would nominate him to succeed himself. Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana was the candidate for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Alton B. Parker of New York and Henry G. Davis of West Virginia. The Republican ticket swept the country.

The American Nation among the World Powers.—The close of the Spanish-American war marked the increased importance of the American nation in world politics. This step came about, not from military or naval feats, but because of the fact that American possessions in the Pacific Ocean to a certain extent involved the nation in the events that concerned China, Japan, and Russia.

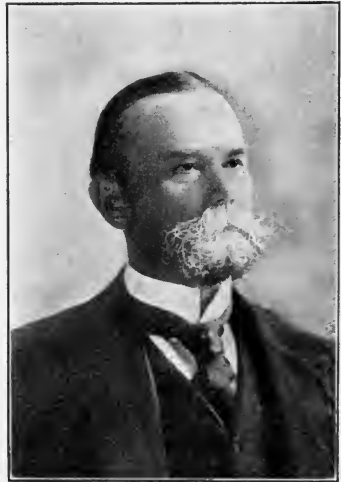
Just after the war with Spain, Czar Nicholas of Russia suggested (February, 1899) through his ministers the excellent proposition of submitting international disputes to a peace tribunal. The proposition was favorably received, and the International Peace Conference met at the Hague, in Holland, on the anniversary of the birthday of the Czar, May 18. Twenty-one nations were represented, the United States and Mexico being the only American nations.¹ The results achieved were twofold. Practically all that could be done to relieve war of unnecessary cruelties was agreed upon by the states represented. A permanent International Court of Arbitration, commonly known as the Hague Tribunal, was established also. To this court international disputes may be brought.

¹ The American members of the Peace Conference were Ambassador Andrew White, Seth Low (then President of Columbia University), Ambassador Stanford Newell, Captain Alfred T. Mahan, U.S.N., Captain William Crozier, U.S.N. (inventor of the disappearing gun carriage), and Frederick W. Holls, a noted jurist.

It was an odd circumstance that war came almost immediately to harass the Czar. During the Boxer troubles in China,¹ Russian troops were stationed in Manchuria, a province of China, for the protection of the Chinese Eastern Railway. At the close of the uprising in China the Russians refused to withdraw the troops. The Japanese considered this a menace both to their commerce and to the safety of their empire. War was declared against Russia (February, 1904), and this war proved to be the most bloody and destructive of modern times.

**The Russian-
Japanese
War**

The war was likely to involve other nations, and cool and wise counsel was necessary. One of the responsible men of the hour was Secretary of State John Hay. To Mr. Hay, quite as much as to any other diplomat, belongs the credit of maintaining the peace of both America and Europe. The peace that came to the two combatants was the work of President Roosevelt, after Mr. Hay's death. After six months of effort, President Roosevelt persuaded Russia and Japan to join in a conference. This conference of the two powers was held nominally at Washington (really at Portsmouth, New Hampshire), and terms of peace were agreed upon (September, 1905).²



JOHN HAY.

Progress of Civilization in the American States. — Students of history have always found much to commend in the general char-

¹ See page 372.

² The Russians were represented by M. (now Count) Witte and Ambassador Rosen, the Japanese by Baron Komura and Minister Takahira. Under the terms Russia agreed to surrender Manchuria to the Chinese, and to cede to Japan the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, which formerly belonged to Japan. It was agreed that trade in Korea and Manchuria should be unrestricted and free.

acter of the American people; they have also found much to condemn. Many years ago, when Mr. Charles Dickens in his "American Notes" described our bad manners in public, popular indignation at once rose high. The great author told some unpleasant truths in a painfully blunt way. But foreign critics almost always give us credit for trying to be fair, and this trait in a people is always the open door to a better civilization.

But whatever may be either the virtues or the shortcomings of the American people, the traits that distinguish them from other English-speaking people are due mainly to geographic environment. Their environment has been powerful enough to modify and even to overcome many of the race tendencies inherited from English ancestors. There are several powerful agents through which the conditions of geographic environment have operated; these are chiefly the political system, the literature, the system of public education, and church organizations.

The Political System. — The organization of political parties is in many ways founded on the township meeting; from this form of political meeting are descended the district primaries and ward associations in which political parties now generally meet. In such meetings all citizens stand upon equal footing, and these meetings are the foundation of all political measures, national and state. The political work of the primaries has not been always creditable, but the fault lies with the people themselves. Foreign critics have told us in very plain terms that the indifference of the American citizen to political duties is a marked weak spot in the American system of government, and this is undoubtedly true. The leadership of the political "boss" is, in many respects, a necessary element in American politics; therefore it devolves upon the people at the primaries to see to it that he shall be a leader of sterling character. When great moral questions are at issue, the people may be depended upon to do the right thing.

The Newspapers. — It is claimed by many critics of American literature that only a few American writers belong in the same class with the best English writers, and perhaps this is true. But there is one form of literature that has always been a tremendous

power for good, whatever its literary merit, namely the newspaper. Granting that many newspapers are not up to the standard of the best literature, there are two features about them that make them mighty in their effect: they print news, and they stand invariably for good against evil. Let an act be committed against the public welfare, and in less than twelve hours the whole world knows it. With the searchlight of a good newspaper turned upon it, the days of an evil are numbered.

The newspapers have been a strong ally of the people in the fight against the domination of party "machines" and political corruption. When it has been shown that a man has used his public office for unrighteous gains, the newspapers have united their forces and forgotten their political differences in order to enforce the demand of the people for exposure and punishment. The elections of 1905 showed notable examples of this spirit and of the success which may reward the fight against disgraceful political machines.

Education.—The public schools of the country also have wrought a wonderful work. Every state in the Union supports schools that are free. In many localities books, transportation to and from school, and medical attendance are furnished in addition to tuition. Education is recognized as a necessity for the development of good citizenship, and the Americans pay yearly more than a quarter of a billion dollars for it—more, in fact, than is paid by any other people in the world.¹

One effect of this widely diffused system of education has been more important than its founders dreamed. The emigration from European states to America is very great, and includes yearly not far from one hundred thousand children. The immigrants of mature age do not materially change their manners and habits; some of them, indeed, never learn to speak the English language. With the young children, however, the case is different; they are at once sent to school, and when their school life is finished, they

¹ Most states have provided for higher instruction by establishing universities. Most universities, however, have been endowed by private benefactions. The gifts of three men, Leland Stanford, John D. Rockefeller, and Andrew Carnegie, in this direction, have aggregated about fifty millions of dollars.

are "Americanized." As a result, there is only one generation of foreign people in the country at a time.

Religion. — The religious life of the American people is broad. It has been asserted that the people as a whole are skeptical in belief and irreverent in their lives; nevertheless, there is no other country in the world in which the religious life is more practically lived. Three classes of religious associations — Catholics, Protestants, and Jews — comprise the greater part of the population, so far as religious belief is concerned. Their creeds and teachings are diverse, but in one respect they are a unit — they stand for righteousness against evil and for strict duty. For these essentials they have ever battled fiercely; without such foundations, what hope could there be for the future of the Republic?

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity that constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present

King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:—

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;
For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States ;
For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;
For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;
For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ;
For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences ;
For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing there an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments ;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity ; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and

correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation; and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed by the following members:—

John Hancock.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.	NEW YORK.	
Josiah Bartlett,	William Floyd,	George Clymer,
William Whipple,	Philip Livingston,	James Smith,
Matthew Thornton.	Francis Lewis,	George Taylor,
	Lewis Morris.	James Wilson,
		George Ross.
MASSACHUSETTS BAY.		
Samuel Adams,		
John Adams,	NEW JERSEY.	DELAWARE.
Robert Treat Paine,	Richard Stockton,	Cæsar Rodney,
Elbridge Gerry.	John Witherspoon,	George Read,
	Francis Hopkinson,	Thomas M'Kean.
RHODE ISLAND.	John Hart,	
Stephen Hopkins,	Abraham Clark.	
William Ellery.		
CONNECTICUT.	PENNSYLVANIA.	MARYLAND.
Roger Sherman,	Robert Morris,	Samuel Chase,
Samuel Huntington,	Benjamin Rush,	William Paca,
William Williams,	Benjamin Franklin,	Thomas Stone,
Oliver Wolcott.	John Morton.	Charles Carroll, of Car-
		rollton.

VIRGINIA.

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

Thomas Heyward, Jr.,
Thomas Lynch, Jr.,
Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge.

Resolved that copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WE the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

[In reprinting the Constitution here, the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the original have been preserved.]

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every Thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New

Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and Disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honour, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish a uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws, on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

^ To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the Discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, Dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;— And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or Duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or

Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of Delay.

ARTICLE. II.

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

¹ The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot

¹ This clause has been superseded by the 12th amendment, see page 21.

for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each ; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such Majority and have an equal number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President ; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote ; a Quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes ; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President ; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of Thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said office the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive

within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment *for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE. III.

Section 1. The Judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. The Judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;— to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;— to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;— to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;— to Controversies between two or more States;— between a State and Citizens of another State;— between Citizens of different States,— between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE. IV.

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records, and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion, and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE. V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case,

shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE. VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE. VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In ~~Witness~~ ^{Witness} whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G^o WASHINGTON —

Presidt and deputy from Virginia

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Langdon

Nicholas Gilman

MASSACHUSETTS.

Nathaniel Gorham	Rufus King
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CONNECTICUT.

Wm Saml Johnson	Roger Sherman
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NEW YORK.

Alexander Hamilton	
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NEW JERSEY.

Wil Livingston	David Brearley
Wm Paterson	Jona Dayton

PENNSYLVANIA.

B Franklin	Thomas Mifflin
Robt Morris	Geo Clymer
Tho Fitzsimons	Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson	Gouv Morris

DELAWARE.

Geo Read	Gunning Bedford, Jun'r
John Dickinson	Richard Bassett
Jaco Broom	

MARYLAND.

James M'Henry	Dan of St Thos Jenifer
Danl Carroll	

VIRGINIA.

John Blair	James Madison, Jr
------------	-------------------

NORTH CAROLINA.

Wm Blount	Rich'd Dobbs Spaight
Hu Williamson	

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J Rutledge	Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney	Pierce Butler

GEORGIA.

William Few	Abr Baldwin
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Attest:	WILLIAM JACKSON, <i>Secretary</i>
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ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have Compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favour, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an

inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;— The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. — The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crimes, the basis of representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens, twenty-one years of age, in such State.

Section. 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of president or vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each house remove such disability.

Section. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State, shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

THE STATES

THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES

1. DELAWARE.—Named in honor of Lord De la Warr. Swedish settlement near Wilmington, 1638; admitted to the Union, 1787. (For history, see p. 57.)

2. PENNSYLVANIA.—Name given by Charles II, meaning *Penn's woods*. First settlement, 1683; admitted, 1787 (p. 54).

3. NEW JERSEY.—Named after the island of Jersey (Cæsarea), in honor of its governor, Sir George Carteret. Settlement at Bergen, 1617; admitted, 1787 (p. 52).

4. GEORGIA.—Named in honor of George II. Settlement at Savannah, 1733; admitted, 1788 (p. 41).

5. CONNECTICUT.—Indian name meaning *river of long reaches*. Settlement at Wethersfield about 1634; admitted, 1788 (p. 76).

6. MASSACHUSETTS.—Indian name probably meaning *country of the hills*. Settlement at Plymouth, 1620; admitted, 1788 (p. 65).

7. MARYLAND.—Named in honor of Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. Settlement at St. Marys, 1634; admitted, 1788 (p. 35).

8. SOUTH CAROLINA.—Named in honor of Charles II (Latinized form, *Carolus*). Settlement at Charleston, 1670; admitted, 1788 (p. 38).

9. NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Named in honor of Hampshire, England. Settlement at Dover, 1627; admitted, 1788 (p. 78).

10. VIRGINIA.—Named in honor of Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen. Settlement at Jamestown, 1607; admitted, 1788 (p. 26).

11. NEW YORK.—Named in honor of the Duke of York (afterward James II). Dutch trading post at Manhattan, 1613; trading post, Fort Orange, at Albany, 1623; Dutch colony at New Amsterdam, 1626; admitted, 1788. French fur traders had established posts along Hudson river before the founding of Fort Orange (p. 45).

12. NORTH CAROLINA.—Named in honor of Charles II. Settlements on Chowan River and Albemarle Sound about 1663; formally separated from South Carolina, 1729; admitted, 1789 (p. 38).

13. RHODE ISLAND.—Named from the Dutch *rood eylandt*, or red island, from the color of the cliffs. Settlement at Providence, 1636; admitted, 1789 (p. 73).

STATES ADDED TO THE UNION SINCE 1789

14. VERMONT. — Named from the French *verde mont*, or green mountain. Trading post at Fort Dummer, near Brattleboro, 1724; admitted, 1791.

15. KENTUCKY. — Indian name whose meaning is not with certainty known — possibly *dark and bloody battle-grounds*, but more probably the *barrens*, as descriptive of the large treeless area in the central part. Explored by La Salle along the Ohio River, and by Daniel Boone in 1769. Settlement by James Harrodsburg about 1774, and by Boone at Boonesboro about the same time. County of Kentucky (then a part of Virginia) established through efforts of George Rogers Clark, 1776. Formally separated from Virginia, 1792. Much of the area of the state was purchased from the Cherokee Indians by the Transylvania Company, a land-exploiting corporation. Admitted, 1792.

16. TENNESSEE. — Indian name meaning *river of the great bend*. Present site of Memphis visited by De Soto, 1541, and fort built on or near the same site by La Salle about 1682. French trading post near Nashville built by Charleville, 1714. Explored by Thomas Walker, who discovered the mountain range and pass now called Cumberland Range and Gap, 1748. Fort Loudon built in 1756. Watuga settled by immigrants from Virginia and Carolina, 1769. State of Franklin formed, 1784; organized as Territory South of the Ohio, 1790; admitted, 1792.

17. OHIO. — Indian name meaning *beautiful valley*. Claimed by France on account of explorations by La Salle about 1760; claimed also by Connecticut, Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York. Territorial organization formed in 1787. Association of Boston capitalists formed Ohio Company about 1787, and made settlement at Marietta, 1788. Troubles with Indians were settled by General "Mad Anthony" Wayne, who severely punished them at a battle on the Maumee, 1794. Territorial legislature met at Cincinnati, 1799. Chillicothe state capital, 1800–1810; Zanesville, 1810–1812; Columbus, since 1816. Admitted, 1803.

18. LOUISIANA. — Named in honor of Louis XIV of France. Lower Mississippi visited by Pineda, 1519, who reported that the Indians had established several large pueblos. Probably visited by De Soto also about 1541. Visited in 1682 by La Salle, who took possession of the territory for Louis XIV of France. Explored also by the brothers Le Moyne (Bienville and Iberville). Settlement founded near the head of the Mississippi delta about 1700. Trading franchises which were granted to Crozat, 1712, and to John Law about 1718, led to the settlement of New Orleans, 1718. Made a royal province, 1731, and surrendered to Great

Britain, 1763. New Orleans and the mouth of the river were excepted from the treaty, and were secretly given by Napoleon to Spain, but again were restored to France. The whole territory was sold to the United States, 1803. State of Louisiana admitted, 1812.

19. INDIANA. — Adapted from the word *Indian*. A part of the territory claimed by France and transferred to Great Britain, 1763. Visited about 1669 by La Salle, who induced the Indians to join in a confederation against the Iroquoians. French settlement at Vincennes about 1702 (?), designated a military post, 1731. In 1778 the country including the present state of Indiana was surrendered to George Rogers Clark, and came under the control of the Americans, and in 1787 became a part of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio. Indiana Territory was formed, 1800, and from its area Michigan was set off, 1805, and Illinois, 1809. Tecumseh, a chief of the Shawnee Indians, attempted to form a federation of Indian tribes for the purpose of driving the white settlers from the territory, but was defeated (1811) by General Harrison at Tippecanoe Creek. In 1820 the site of Indianapolis, then a small village, was selected for the state capital. The sect of Harmonists, or Rappites, settled at New Harmony about 1815. Admitted to the Union, 1816.

20. MISSISSIPPI. — Indian name meaning *master stream*, or *father of waters*. Explored by De Soto from Columbus to Chickasaw Bluffs, 1541; by Marquette and Joliet southward to the mouth of the Arkansas, 1673; and by La Salle in 1682. Colony established at Biloxi by Iberville (Le Moyne), 1699. Settlement at Natchez about 1716. Territory established with capital at Natchez, 1798. Boundaries fixed practically as at present, 1804–1812. Admitted to the Union, 1817.

21. ILLINOIS. — French form of an Indian name meaning *the tribes*, or *people*. Traversed by Joliet and Marquette, 1673, La Salle, 1679, and Tonti a few years later. Settlements at Cahokia probably in 1682, and at Kaskaskia about 1700. Area comprised in the state was part of French Louisiana until 1763, when it was ceded to Great Britain. Captured from Great Britain by George Rogers Clark during the War of the Revolution. A part of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio, 1787, and set off from Indiana Territory in 1809. Kaskaskia the capital, 1700–1778. Fort Dearborn, founded in 1803–1804, was the beginning of Chicago. Admitted to the Union, 1818.

22. ALABAMA. — Indian name meaning *resting place*. French settlement on Mobile Bay, 1702, by Bienville (Le Moyne); Mobile founded, 1711–1713. A part of Louisiana until 1783; later a part of Georgia and South Carolina; then a part of Mississippi Territory until 1817. Admitted as a state, 1819.

23. MAINE. — Named possibly from the long stretch of "main," or coast, near which vessels kept in following the new route to the American colonies. Settlement at Pemaquid, 1625. Admitted, 1820 (p. 78).

24. MISSOURI. — Indian name meaning *muddy water*. A part of French Louisiana. A part was acquired in 1763, the rest in 1803; the first by British conquest, the rest by purchase. French fort and trading post at Fort Orleans, near Jefferson City, about 1719; at Ste. Genevieve about 1735; New Madrid was founded probably about the same time. The site of St. Louis was chosen by Pierre Laclède Liguist, 1763. The "upper," or northern, and the "lower," or southern, parts were united as a territory in 1812 and admitted as a state in 1821.

25. ARKANSAS. — Indian name "Kansas," meaning *misty water*, and possibly French "arc," a *bow*. A part of Louisiana Purchase and of Louisiana Territory, 1803; of Missouri Territory, 1812; and of Arkansas Territory in 1819. Indian Territory set off in 1836, leaving Aarkansas in its present form. French settlement, in 1686, at Arkansas Post, near the mouth of the Arkansas River. Peopled mainly from Southern states. Admitted as a state, 1836.

26. MICHIGAN. — Indian name meaning *fish weir*. French settlement at Mackinac about 1680; at Sault Ste. Marie (St. Mary's Falls) about ten years previously. Detroit founded for strategic purposes, 1701. A part of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio. Set off from Indiana and organized as a territory, 1805; admitted as a state, 1837.

27. FLORIDA. — Spanish name "Pasqua Florida," meaning *flowery Easter*. Visited by Ponce de Leon in 1513, on Easter Sunday; by Narvaez at Tampa Bay, 1528; and at Tampa Bay by De Soto, 1539. Fort at St. Augustine built, 1565, for the purpose of preventing French aggressions. After being possessed by Spain, Great Britain, and the United States (the latter holding the eastern part), the whole territory was formally ceded to the United States. Organized as a territory, 1822; admitted to the Union, 1845.

28. TEXAS. — Probably the Spanish form of an Indian name whose meaning is not known. Visited as early as 1528 by Cabeza de Vaca; Spanish missions organized for the purpose of preventing French occupation as early as 1715, one being established at San Antonio, at the old mission house known as the Alamo. Remained a Spanish possession until the Republic of Texas was formed. French settlement at Lavaca, 1685. Admitted to the Union, 1845 (p. 273).

29. IOWA. — French form of an Indian name meaning *sleepyheads* — a term applied by the Sioux to the Gray Snow Indians. Visited by Marquette and Joliet about 1673. Settlement made at present site of

Dubuque by Julien Dubuque, for the purpose of working the lead mines. A part of the Louisiana Purchase. In turn it was attached to Louisiana, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Became a separate territory in 1838; admitted as a state, 1846.

30. WISCONSIN.—Indian name meaning *rushing waters*, in description of the dalles of Wisconsin River. Visited by Jean Nicolet at Green Bay and the Fox River, 1634–1635, and by Radisson and Groseillers about 1658–1659, when, near Ashland, they built a stockade and fort. St. Xavier Mission established by Allouez, at Depere, about 1563. Permanent white settlement at Green Bay about 1750, at Prairie du Chien about 1781, and at Milwaukee, Portage, and La Pointe about 1795–1800. A part of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio. Made a territory in 1836; admitted as a state, 1848.

31. CALIFORNIA.—Spanish name occurring in a work of fiction, applied to an island in which gold was very plentiful. Visited at Cape Mendoza (Mendocino) by Cabrillo, 1542; at Drake's Bay by Sir Francis Drake, 1578; and by Viscayno in 1602. Mission settlement established by Franciscan Fathers at San Diego, 1769, and elsewhere; Mission Dolores established at San Francisco, 1776. A Spanish possession until the independence of Mexico; a conquest of the Mexican War in 1847, when Commodore Stockton took possession for the United States. Gold discovered by John Marshall, 1848. Admitted as a state, 1850 (p. 277).

32. MINNESOTA.—Indian name meaning *white water*, applied to Minnesota River. Explored by Father Hennepin, who discovered falls which he named St. Anthony, 1680; also by Captain Jonathan Carver. Area east of Mississippi River acquired by conquest from France, 1763, becoming a part of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio; area west of Mississippi River a part of Louisiana Purchase; subsequently a part in turn of Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin territories. Fort Snelling established, 1819, and settled by Swiss from Pembina. St. Paul founded by Father Galtier, 1841. Organized as a separate territory, 1849; admitted as a state, 1858.

33. OREGON.—French name meaning *wind*, applied to the Rocky (Wind River) Mountains and to the Columbia River. Coast visited by Ferrelo, 1543; by Sir Francis Drake, 1578; and by Captain Cook, 1777. Mouth of the Columbia explored by Captain Robert Gray, 1792. Acquired by purchase, treaty, and discovery. Astoria fur-trading post established, 1811. Made a territory in 1848, from which Washington and Idaho were afterward set off; admitted as a state, 1859 (p. 267).

34. KANSAS.—Indian name meaning *misty waters*. Area east of 100th meridian, a part of Louisiana Purchase; the remainder a disputed

territory claimed by Spain. Visited by Coronado, and explored by Pike and others. The famous Santa Fé trail extended from Independence, Missouri, across the state to Santa Fé. Border settlements established in various places, 1859. Organized as a territory, 1854; admitted as a state, 1861.

35. WEST VIRGINIA.—Set off from Virginia during the Civil War; admitted, 1863.

36. NEVADA.—Spanish name applied to the Sierras, meaning *snowy peaks*. A part of the California territory acquired as a result of the war with Mexico. Mining settlement at Genoa, 1850. Made a separate territory, 1861; admitted as a state, 1864.

37. NEBRASKA.—Indian name meaning *shallow water*, applied to the Platte, which has been described as "a mile wide, an inch deep, with the bottom on top." Visited by Coronado, 1541; part of Platte River surveyed and mapped by Father Marquette, 1673; held by French, 1634–1673, by British, 1673–1816; fur-trading post at Bellevue about 1810; Old Fort Atkinson established, 1820; Mormon settlement near Omaha, 1846; a part of Louisiana Territory until 1805, of Missouri until 1812; a separate territory from 1854 to 1867; admitted as a state, 1867.

38. COLORADO.—Spanish name meaning *red*, applied to the deep color of the water of the Colorado River. Explored in 1776 by Francisco Escalante in the region of Gunnison, by Zebulon Pike, 1806–1807, and by civilized Cherokees in 1857. Area included in Spanish territory of Mexico and also in Louisiana Purchase. Mission established at Conejos, 1854; Denver and most of the mining centers resulted from the discovery of gold near Pikes Peak about 1857–1858. Made a territory, 1861; admitted to the Union, 1876.

39. NORTH DAKOTA.—Indian name of a Sioux confederacy. Lord Selkirk's fur-trading post at Pembina established, 1810; Lewis and Clark's winter camp at Mandan Indian village, now Mandan, 1804–1805; a part of Louisiana Purchase; Dakota set off from Minnesota Territory, 1849; created a territory, 1861; set off as a separate body and admitted as a state, 1889.

40. SOUTH DAKOTA.—Fur-trading post at Fort Pierre about 1830–1831, afterward a military post; settlement at Sioux Falls, 1856, and at Yankton, 1859; other settlements exploited by Dakota Land Company about same time; a part of Dakota Territory; made a state, 1889.

41. MONTANA.—Name adapted from a Spanish word (derived from Latin *mons*, a mountain) meaning *land of mountains*. Explored along Missouri River by Vérendrye as early as 1745; a part of the Louisiana Purchase; a part of both Oregon and Idaho territories; trading post at

mouth of Big Horn River, 1807, followed by others in next twenty years; Fort Union built on Missouri River, 1829, a steamboat route thereto being established in 1832; Fort Benton built, 1846; St. Mary's Mission established at Stevensville, 1845; gold discovered about 1861, and Helena built at "Last Chance" gulch a few years later; made a separate territory, 1864; admitted as a state, 1889.

42. WASHINGTON. — Named in honor of George Washington. Strait of Juan de Fuca explored by Greek sailor of that name, 1592. Spanish navigator Bruno Heceta explored coast about seventeen years prior to Gray's discovery of the Columbia River, 1792. Vancouver, in the service of Great Britain, explored Puget Sound about 1792. Fur-trading posts established as early as 1811; white settlement made at Turnwater, near Olympia, 1845, and at Walla Walla by Marcus Whitman, 1846. A part of Oregon Territory until 1853; a separate territory until admitted as a state in 1889.

43. IDAHO. — Indian name meaning approximately *choicest part of the mountains*. A part of the Oregon country acquired by discovery and exploration; explored by Lewis and Clark, 1804–1805; Cœur d'Alène Mission established by Father de Smet, 1842, where gold was subsequently discovered, 1882; set off from Oregon and made a separate territory, 1863; admitted as a state, 1890.

44. WYOMING. — Indian name meaning *land of open plains*. Traversed by Vérendrye as early as 1743. Yellowstone region discovered by John Colter, 1807; explored later by Captain Bonneville. Most of the area was included in the Louisiana Purchase, the southwestern part belonging to the Spanish (Mexican) possession. Settlement at Fort Laramie, 1834, established by fur-trading company, became a military post, 1849; Bozeman trail was an important trade route as late as 1865. Made a territory comprising areas set off from Utah, Idaho, and Dakota, 1868; admitted as a state, 1890.

45. UTAH. — Named after Ute Indian tribe; uncertain meaning. Mormon settlement at Salt Lake City, founded by Brigham Young, 1847. Organized as a territory, 1850; admitted as a state, 1896.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

NO.	PRESIDENT.	STATE.	TERM OF OFFICE.	VICE-PRESIDENT.	SECRETARY OF STATE.
1	George Washington	Virginia	Two terms; 1789-1797	John Adams	Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph, Timothy Pickens, John Marshall, James Madison.
2	John Adams	Massachusetts	One term; 1797-1801	Thomas Jefferson	Robert Smith, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams.
3	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Two terms; 1801-1809	Aaron Burr	Henry Clay.
4	James Madison	Virginia	Two terms; 1809-1817	George Clinton	Martin Van Buren.
5	James Monroe	Virginia	Two terms; 1817-1825	Elbridge Gerry	Edward Livingston.
6	John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	One term; 1825-1829	Daniel D. Tompkins	Louis McLane.
7	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	Two terms; 1829-1837	John C. Calhoun	John Forsyth.
8	Martin Van Buren	New York	One term; 1837-1841	Richard M. Johnson	Daniel Webster.
9	William H. Harrison	Ohio	One month; 1841	John Tyler	Hugh S. Legaré.
10	John Tyler	Virginia	3 years 11 months; 1841-1845		Abel P. Upshur.
11	James K. Polk	Tennessee	One term; 1845-1849	George M. Dallas	John C. Calhoun.
12	Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1 year 4 months; 1849, 1850	Millard Fillmore	James Buchanan.
13	Millard Fillmore	New York	2 years 8 months; 1850-1853		John M. Clayton.
14	Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	One term; 1853-1857	William R. King	Daniel Webster.
15	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	One term; 1857-1861	J. C. Breckinridge	Edward Everett.
16	Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	One term and 6 weeks; 1861-1865	Hannibal Hamlin	Lewis Cass.
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	3 years 10 months; 1865-1869	Andrew Johnson	Jeremiah S. Black.
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	Two terms; 1869-1877	Schuyler Colfax	William H. Seward.
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	One term; 1877-1881	Henry Wilson	William H. Seward.
20	James A. Garfield	Ohio	6 months 15 days; 1881	William A. Wheeler	Elihu B. Washburn.
21	Chester A. Arthur	New York	3 years 5 months 15 days; 1881-1885	Chester A. Arthur	Hamilton Fish.
22	Grover Cleveland	New York	One term; 1885-1889	Thomas A. Hendricks	William M. Evarts.
23	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	One term; 1889-1893	Levi P. Morton	James G. Blaine.
24	Grover Cleveland	New York	One term; 1893-1897	Adlai E. Stevenson	James F. Bayard.
25	William McKinley	Ohio	One term and 6 mos. 10 days; 1897-1901	Garret A. Hobart	Walter Q. Gresham.
26	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	1901 (Sept. 14)	Theodore Roosevelt	John Sherman.
					William R. Day.
					John Hay.
					Elihu Root.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS FOR REVIEW

A review is most effective when, in place of the sequence of mixed events, the events pertaining to a single phase of development are studied in their order. The following topical analysis is arranged especially for review work ; it includes the subjects that have had most to do with the making of American history.

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The foregoing analyses represent the more difficult subjects of American history ; they may be amplified at the discretion of the teacher. The topicalization of other events will be necessary, but these analyses may be prepared by the teacher or by the pupils themselves under the teacher's direction. In making the analyses it is necessary only to look over the pages of the book, noting the events in their order. For this work the teacher may dictate various subjects ; the following are suggested :—

Treaties of the United States.

Territorial acquisitions of the United States.

Political parties and their platforms.

Industrial inventions and their effect.

Growth and development of railroads.

International events that have led to congressional enactments.

Methods of transportation and their development.

Events involving American Indians.

A chronology of events in connection with each administration.

A LIST OF REFERENCE BOOKS

GENERAL REFERENCE

Bancroft's History of the United States.	McMaster's History of the People of the United States.
Higginson's Larger History of the United States.	Schouler's History of the United States.
Hildreth's United States.	Rhodes's United States.
Scribner's American History Series.	Hart's Epochs of American History.
Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America.	Andrews's History of Our Own Times.
Lossing's (Harper's) Cyclopedia of United States History.	Hart's Source Readers in History.
Smith's (Goldwin) United States.	Scudder's American Commonwealth.
	Forman's Advanced Civics.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Fiske's Discovery of America.	MacCoun's Historical Geography of the United States.
Shaler's The United States.	Markham's Sea Fathers.
Scaife's Geographic History of America.	Lewis and Clarke's Expedition.
Redway's First Landfall of Columbus.	Schoolcraft's Narrative.
Parkman's (Francis) The Oregon Trail.	Whitney's United States.
Hakluyt's Divers Voyages.	Roosevelt's Winning of the West.
Gannett's Boundaries of the States and the United States.	Hinsdale's Old Northwest.
	Irving's Columbus.
	Statesman's Year Book.

COLONIAL PERIOD

Fiske's Beginnings of New England.	Fiske's Dutch and Quaker Colonies.
Fiske's New France and New England.	Palfrey's New England.
Fiske's Old Virginia and her Neighbors.	Lodge's English Colonies.
	Parkman's Wolfe and Montcalm.
	Adams's The Emancipation of Massachusetts.

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Lecky's American Revolution.	Lossing's (Harper's) Cyclopedia of United States History.
Fiske's The American Revolution.	Lodge's American Revolution.
Winsor's Handbook of the Revolution.	Scudder's America One Hundred Years Ago.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

Fiske's Critical Period of American History.	Wilson's The State.
Story's Constitution of the United States.	Blaine's Twenty Years in Congress.
Curtis's History of the Constitution.	Johnson's American Politics.
Bryce's American Commonwealth.	Holl's Peace Conference at The Hague.

THE CIVIL WAR

Comte de Paris's Civil War in America.	Stephens's (Alexander) War between the States.
Greeley's The American Conflict.	Davis's Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.
Fiske's The Mississippi Valley in the Civil War.	Grant's Personal Memoirs.
Draper's Civil War.	McClellan's Own Story.
Dana's Recollections of the Civil War.	Sherman's Memoirs.
Ropes's Civil War.	Cooke's Life of Robert E. Lee.
	Cooke's Life of "Stonewall" Jackson.

INDUSTRIAL

Shaler's The United States.	Monograph Bureau of American Republics.
Adams's (Brooks) New Empire.	Consular Reports.
Wright's Industrial Evolution of the United States.	Publications of Department of Commerce.

JUVENILE

Abbot's Battlefield of '61.	Coffin's The Story of Liberty.
Abbot's Blue Jackets of '61.	Brumbaugh and Walton's Stories of Pennsylvania.
Coffin's Redeeming the Republic.	Chandler's Makers of Virginia History.
Coffin's Drumbeat of the Nation.	

A PRONOUNCING LIST OF PROPER NAMES

KEY TO DIACRITICAL MARKS

a as *a* in *fat*.
 ā as *a* in *fate*.
 ä as *a* in *far*.
 ȧ as *a* in *sofa*.
 â as *a* in *fall*.
 ã as *a* in *fare*.
 e as *e* in *met*.
 ē as *e* in *meet*.
 è as *e* in *her*.
 ẹ as *e* in *prudent*.
 i as *i* in *pin*.
 ī as *i* in *pine*.

o as *o* in *not*.
 ō as *o* in *note*.
 ö as *o* in *move*.
 ọ as *o* in *idiot*.
 ô as *o* in *song*.
 u as *u* in *tub*.
 ū as *u* in *mute*.
 ü as French *u*, German *ü*.
 ñ as French nasal *n*, in *en*, *ton*.
 th as *th* in *then*.

Aguinaldo, ä'gē-näl-do.
 Alamo, ä'lä-mō.
 Aleut, al'e-öt.
 Algonquian, al-gon'ki-ən.
 Amu Darya, ä-mö' där'yä.
 Antietam, an-tē'tam.
 Appomatox, ap-ō-mat'ōks.
 Azores, a-zörz'.

Beauregard, bō're-gärd.
 Bessemer, bes'e-mēr.
 Bienville, byän-vēl'.
 Biloxi, bi-lok'si.
 Bonhomme Richard, bo-nom' rē-shär'.
 Bonneville, bon'vil.
 Breton (Cape), brit'ən or bret'ən.
 Buell, bū'el.
 Buena Vista, bwā'nä vēs'tä.
 Burgoyne, bér-goin'.

Cabeza de Vaca, kä-bä'thä dā vä'kä.
 Cabral, kä-bräl'.
 Canonicus, ka-non'i-kus.
 Cartier, Jacques, zhäk kär-tyä'.
 Catawba, ka-tä'bä.
 Cavite, kä-vē-tä'.
 Cayuga, kā-yö'gä.
 Cerro Gordo, ser'rō gor'dō.
 Cervera, thär-vä'rä.
 Chapultepec, chä-pöl-te-pek'.
 Chattanooga, chat-a-nö'gä.
 Cherbourg, shér'bérg.
 Chicasa, chik'a-sä.
 Chickamauga, chick-ä-mä'gä.
 Chickasaw Bayou, chik'ä-sä bi'ö.
 Chippewa, chip'e-wä.
 Chowan, chō-wan'.
 Cibola, sē'bō-lä.
 Colon, kō-lön'.

Contreras, kōn-trā'rās.
Cousin, Jean, zhoñ kö-zañ'.
Croghan, krō'gān.
Cunard, kū-nārd'.

Dalles, dālz.
Decatur, de-kā'tēr.
Dias, dē'ās.
Dieppe, dē-ep'.
Duquesne, dü-kān'.

Eads, ēdz.
El Caney, el kā'na.
Espagnola, es-pān-yō'la.

Ferrari, fer'ar.
Frelinghuysen, frē'ling-hū-zen.
Fusang, fō'sang.

Gansevoort, gans'vört.
Genêt, zhe-nā'.
Gila, hē'lā.
Gorges, gōr'jez.
Gourges, görg.
Guadalquiver, gā-dāl-kuiv'ēr.
Guadalupe Hidalgo, gwā-thä-lō'pā
ē-dāl'go.
Guam, gwām.
Guanahani, gwā-nā-ā-nē'.
Guerrière, gār-ryār.
Guiana, gē-ā'nā.
Gunnbyorn, gön'byorn.

Harve de Grace, ā'vr-dē-grās'.
Hawaii, hä-wī'ē.
Hawaiian, hä-wī'yan.
Herjulf, her-ölf.
Hindu Kush, hin'dō kösh.
Honolulu, hō-nō-lō'lō.
Houston, hūs'ton or hous'ton.
Hwui Shan, hwē shān.

Iroquoian, ir-ō-kwoi'ān.
Iuka, i-ū'kā.

Jalapa, hä-lä'pä.
Joliet, zhō-lyā'.
Juan de Fuca, jō'an dā fū'kā.

Kamehameha, kā-mā'hä-mā'hä.
Kankakee, kang-kā-kē'.
Kaskaskia, kas-kas'ki-ā.
Kearney, kār'ni.
Kearsarge, kēr'sārj.
Kenesaw, ken-e-sā'.

Ladrone, lä-drōn'.
Laudonnière, lō-do-nyār'.
Le Bœuf, lê-béf'.
Leyden, lē'den.
Liliuokalani, lē-lē-wō-kä-lä'nē.
Lopez, lō'pāth.
Luzon, lö-zon'.

Magruder, mā-grō'dēr.
Malvern, māl'vern.
Manassas, mā-nas'ās.
Mankato, man-kā'tō.
Marquette, mär-ket'.
Massasoit, mas'ā-soit.
Matamoras, mat-ā-mō'rōs.
Mauch Chunk, māk chungk.
McCullough, mā-kul'ok.
McDonough, mak-don'ō.
Meigs, megz.
Menendez, mā-nān'dāth.
Mesilla, mā-sēl'yā.
Miquelon, mēk-lōn'.
Modoc, mō'dok.
Mohegan, mō-hē'gān.
Molino del Rey, mō-lē'nō del rā'.
Moluccas, mō-luk'āz.
Monterey, mon-ta-ra'.
Montezuma, mon-tē-zō'mā.
Moultrie, mōl'tri.
Murfreesboro, mēr'frēz-bur-o.
Muskhogan, musk-hō'gē-ān.

Narvaez, nār-vā-eth'.

Niña, nēn'yā.

Nipmuck, nip'muk.

Nueces, nwā'ses.

Oneida, o-ni'dā.

Onondaga, on-on-dā'gā.

Oriskany, o-ris kā-ni.

Palo Alto, pā'lō āl-tō.

Pequot, pē'kwot.

Perote, pā-rō'tā.

Pineda, Alvarez de, Āl'vā-reth dā
Pin-ā'thā.

Pinzon, pēn-thōn'.

Pitcairn, pit-kārn'.

Powhatan, pow-ha-tan'.

Presque Isle, pres kēl.

Puebla, pweb'lā.

Resaca de la Palma, rā-sā'kā dā lā
pāl'mā.

Ribault, rē-bō'.

Rio de la Plata, rē'ō dā lā plā'tā.

Rio Grande, rē'ō gränd.

Samana, sā-mā-nā'.

San Antonio, san an-tō'ni-ō.

Sanchez, Alonzo, al-on' sō sän' chēth.

San Jacinto, san jā-sin'tō.

San Juan, sän hwän'.

San Salvador, sän sāl-vā-thōr'.

Santa Fé, sän'tā fā.

Santa Maria, sän'tā mā-rē ā.

Schley, shlā.

Schuyler, ski'lēr.

Seminole, sem'i-nōl.

Semmes, semz.

Seneca, sen'e-kā.

Serapis, se-rā'pis.

Sigel, se'gel.

Siouan, sō'ān.

Sioux, sō.

Slidell, slī-del'.

Spottsylvania, spot-sil-vā'ni-ā.

Staunton, stān'ton.

Steuben, stu'ben.

Stuyvesant, stī've-sant.

Surinam, sō-ri-nām'.

Ticonderoga, tī-kon-de-rō'gā.

Toscanelli, tos-kā-nel'lē.

Tremont, tre-mont'.

Tuscarora, tus-kā-rō'rā.

Tutelo, tö-tā'lō.

Valladolid, väl-yā-thō-lēth'.

Van Rensselaer, van ren'se-lēr.

Vasco da Gama, vās'ko dā gā'mā.

Venezuela, ven-e-zwē'lā.

Vera Cruz, ve'rā kröz.

Vergennes, vēr-jenz'.

Verrazano, ver-rāt-sā'nō.

Vespucci, ves-pō'chē.

Waldseemüller, vält'zā-mül-ler.

Wampanoag, wam-pā-nō'ag.

Weyler, wā'ler.

Woccon, wok'on.

Yamasee, yām'a-sē.

Yazoo, yā'zō.

Zipango, si-pang'gō.

Zollicoffer, zol'i-kof-ēr.

Zufi, zō'nyē.

Zuyder Zee, zi'dēr zē.

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